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Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 29
EDITORIALS:
The Chief Justice—A Mistaken Appointment 32
Profit-Making vs. Cooperative Building 33
Gustave Flaubert, 1821-1921 33
Peace at Last 34
THE TRUTH ABOUT THE AMERICAN LEGION. (Continued.)
By Arthur Warner 35
ARMAGEDDON: VIEW FROM ATHENS. By Hiram K. Moderwell 37
THE LUSK-STEVENSON REPORT: A STATE DOCUMENT. By Albert De Silver 38
THE AUTHORS' BUREAU OF CENSORSHIP. By Max McConn 40
BLOOD TESTS FOR RUSSIAN GOLD. By A. C. Freeman 42
IMMORTAL YOUTH. By John Bassett Moore 43
IS THE BLACK HORROR ON THE RHINE FACT OR PROPAGANDA? 44
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 45
CORRESPONDENCE 46
BOOKS:
Christianity in the Modern World. By Harry F. Ward 47
Borneo. By Frederick S. Dellenbaugh 49
Percival's Diary. By Benjamin Rand 50
Swinnerton. By Ludwig Lewisohn 50
Books in Brief 51
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
Proposed Russian-Irish Treaty 52
Great Britain Lets Down the Bars 54

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DESPITE the fact that the fifteen thousand persons who assembled in Santo Domingo city to protest against the published terms of the American withdrawal were mere "political malcontents whose agitation will be disregarded," our State Department has discovered a number of "misunderstandings" in regard to the "exact meaning of the recent proclamation." First, while it was stated that the Dominican commissioners to negotiate the withdrawal were to be appointed by the Military Governor, it is now explained that they will be duly selected by the Dominican Congress, and after being named, will be "formally appointed by the Military Governor." Well, that's better. If the Dominican "malcontents" will continue to protest, with the attendant publicity, further progress may be possible because the actinic rays of daylight are the one thing which our relations with Santo Domingo and Haiti simply cannot endure. When the proclamation stated, it is now further explained, that the Dominicans were expected to ratify all acts of the Military Occupation, it was merely "to insure the recognition of the validity of the financial obligations incurred" by it. Then why in the name of Brown University's Freshman English course did not the State Department say so?

THIS fact should be explicitly set forth in the treaty, for then at least the Dominicans may be able, before an international commission, to secure reparation for murder, arson, and pillage. Money squandered through graft and incompetence will, of course, be unrecoverable, but then the Dominicans can scarcely expect us to govern them better than we do ourselves. What still needs deodorizing, however, is the $2,500,000 loan floated contrary to the Dominicans' desire in this country by a naval officer, which at least one leading banking firm refused to touch. Considering that State and municipal bonds are being floated to yield less than 6 per cent, industrials at around 8 per cent, and that this issue, virtually guaranteed by the United States, nets an average of 14 per cent, it is surely time for the United States definitely to abandon all pretence of the international good will and benevolence business. Mr. Hughes has always been rated as an excellent churchman. One wonders what the Baptist brotherhood thinks of the morality of imposing such usurious rates on a small and helpless nation.

WELL, the tariff bill is before us. This time it is no "emergency" temporary legislation masked as an attempt to "help the farmers." It represents the settled policy of the new Republican Administration and wraps a loving arm of protective duties about the Steel Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Lumber Trust, the Wool Trust, the Cotton Trust, and other such helpless infants of our industrial family. Nothing and nobody seems to be forgotten except—except that a minute search of the schedules fails to reveal any protection for that poor flounder, the General Public. But what else would one expect from a Congress that is nothing more than a soviet of our business interests? So good a Republican organ as the New York *Herald* estimates that the Fordney rates are triple those of the present law and will produce twice as much revenue as the notorious Payne-Aldrich law of 1909, which was primarily responsible for the fact that the Republican Party carried only two States in the Presidential election of 1912. But that is long since forgotten; history does, and must, repeat itself. Happily, two great agents of civilization—Bibles and gunpowder—are on the free list.

MOST significant of all the happenings at the recent national convention of the Socialist Party in Detroit was the adoption of resolutions designed to end the historic isolation of the organization and bring about cooperation between it and other radical associations. The resolutions, offered by Morris Hillquit of New York, provide:

> That the incoming national executive committee be instructed to make a careful survey of all radical and labor organizations in the country, with a view of ascertaining their strengths, disposition, and readiness to cooperate with the socialist movement upon a platform not inconsistent with that of the party, and on a plan which will preserve the integrity and autonomy of the Socialist Party.
>
> That the national executive committee report its findings with recommendations to the next annual convention of the Socialist Party.

Obviously there are dangers in this attempt. The cohesion and logic of the socialist movement in the past have been due to its relentless adhesion to fundamental and original principles; it has not been betrayed into compromise and opportunism by the desire to attain "practical results." Yet it

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must be recognized that during twenty years of intransigence the party has arrived nowhere politically, and unless it purposes to be merely a propaganda body, the time has come for new tactics. The formation of the Farmer-Labor Party last summer makes particularly imperative an effort to bring progressive political organizations together if their vote is not to be hopelessly scattered. What is wanted is not amalgamation—which would surely fail—but federation on the lines of the British Parliamentary Labor Party. In such a scheme the Socialists could hold somewhat the position of the Independent Labor Party in Great Britain without hedging on its principles or purposes. It is to be hoped that the Socialists will act upon their resolution with vigor and sincerity, and that other organizations will prepare to meet them half way.

"THE most colossal commercial wreck the world ever knew" is how Albert D. Lasker, the new chairman of the United States Shipping Board, describes the condition of that organization. What he says of the losses that must be sustained in the liquidation of the fleet has been realized for a long time by the public, but his frank admission of the utter demoralization of the Board itself is in pleasing contrast to the attempt hitherto to conceal that phase. The Board is operating at a monthly loss of $16,000,000, while there are $300,000,000 worth of outstanding claims against it, mostly in a fearful muddle. Mr. Lasker is to be commended for his promise to adjust these claims as early as possible. As to the ships, they are to be sacrificed virtually for what they will bring; the wooden vessels are to go, even for firewood, by October 1. It is all a mammoth spectacle of extravagance, inefficiency, and graft; but it is war—and war is what General Sherman said it was.

THE meeting of President de Valera with a committee of southern Unionists at Dublin on the Fourth of July holds forth many hopeful promises for the settlement of the Irish difficulty. The King's speech at the opening of the Ulster Parliament made a valuable contribution to the temper of all parties; as Colonel Harvey says, George V has done something more magnanimous and statesmanlike than George III ever could be got to do in a certain earlier embroilment. Lloyd George at last appears to have taken the indispensable attitude of candor and directness in the matter, and the Government has released important Sinn Fein prisoners in order to allow them to take part in the conference. The attitudes of President de Valera and the Unionists present are equally commendable, so far as can be judged by the meager reports of the meeting; by comparison with them the northern Unionists, who refused to appear, play a rather sorry role, which they will find it difficult, however, to sustain if the conference makes the expected progress. The arrival, moreover, of General Smuts in Dublin must be regarded as a good omen. Whatever may be the details of the preliminary agreements, almost nothing can be so significant as the appearance of a new spirit of conciliation—which is what Ireland and England need more than anything else.

THE British coal miners have given up their national pool and the Government has restored its subsidy, the owners have allowed a curtailment of their profits, and so a truce has again been called which will give all sides, and the consuming public as well, a chance to draw a long breath. The profit-sharing feature of the settlement, so greatly stressed in the House of Commons by Mr. George, is of importance as a principle, but it may or may not be important in practice. Before any division of profits is made, the owners take £17 for every £10 paid in wages. Profits above this sum would be divided in the ratio of £83 to £17 out of every £100 between the workers and owners respectively. Even with the subsidy this arrangement will affect only the most prosperous mines, and consequently benefit a mere fraction of the miners. But the agreement holds wages at a point 20 per cent higher than before the war, offers some encouragement to greater production, and sets up what is at least an interesting experiment in collective control. This is something; and the inequalities inherent in any settlement other than one based on a pool or on national ownership will have to be straightened out later.

IS the Catholic Church favorable to intervention in Mexico? This question is emphatically and convincingly answered in the negative in the current issue of *America*, the leading Catholic periodical in the United States. This is a valuable contribution to the subject, for it opens wide what has hitherto been in the domain of conjecture, whisper, and innuendo. Not only are the implications of intervention contrary to the established principles of the church, says the writer, but such a policy would be against the interests of the Catholics of both countries:

> The plight of the Catholic church in Mexico is due to interventionists. Every Mexican Catholic shares with Catholic nationals everywhere the duty of upholding legally constituted authority. In the long series of Mexican revolutions the church in Mexico has placed upon the Faithful the obligation of supporting the existing authority. Fulfilment of this obligation, in the event of a successful revolution, leaves the Catholic Mexican without the support of the deposed government he upheld, and with the enmity of the superseding government. And this heritage has been the portion of the church from government to government, since foreign interests have intervened to make and mar governments in Mexico. The intervening interests change but the church remains, the residuary legatee of a resentment as natural as it is unmerited . . . and the Catholic bishops of Mexico oppose strenuously American intervention and refuse the protection of American bayonets.

WE had originally planned to make this issue of *The Nation* a special Dempsey-Carpentier number. Through some oversight, however, Mr. Tex Rickard failed to send us any of the 9,000 complimentary tickets. Hence the failure of our plans. But badly as we feel at having to disappoint our readers and to defer our Great Sporting Issue until, with healed thumb, Carpentier enters the arena again, we wish to confide some things to our readers. We are no "pikers" like the New York *Times*. That sheet, once known for enterprise and its correct assaying of newsvalues, gave only the first eleven of its news pages to the fight, as if it were the *Harlem Valley Times*, while the *World* and *Herald* of our prosperous city contented themselves with merely issuing special sporting sections. The *Times* even forgot itself so far as to place, under small headlines it is true, a dull piece about the signing of a resolution of peace with Germany on a corner of its first page as if it had any news standing whatever. This is hayseed journalism at its worst. As for ourselves, we had planned to give this entire issue up to the fight. Only this could have done honor to the greatest event since the Armistice.

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NO more gratifying episode has occurred in American journalism in recent years than the Baltimore *Evening Sun's* promise of $500 to aid the New York *Call* in its fight for freedom of the press. The *Call*, along with other papers, was deprived of its mailing privileges by Mr. Burleson during the war. In January, 1919, it petitioned for reinstatement which, after eleven months of pigeon-holing, was curtly denied—with a new justification. The *Call* was accused of violating a section of the criminal code as amended six years before the war, which declared unmailable all matter "of a character tending to incite arson, murder, and assassination." The Postmaster General refused to take this case to a jury, but the *Call* went to the courts, winning a favorable verdict from the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Mr. Burleson then appealed, and the Court of Appeals of the District reversed the lower court in a decision which will long stand as a jewel of class-conscious illogic. In essence it is this: The *Call* sympathized with the Russian Revolution; the *Call* urges a change in our economic system here—in other words revolution [though of course by peaceable means]; but the Russian Revolution carried with it arson, murder, and assassination; hence, the *Call* is guilty of printing material which *tends* to bring about these acts of violence. To be sure, the *Call* had already received back its mailing privileges from Postmaster General Hays, but it is fighting, nevertheless, to destroy a decision which, while no longer applying to it in this instance, will, if upheld, destroy the entire freedom of the press, by making it dependent on the arbitrary will of a single official.

THE Baltimore *Evening Sun*, while not in sympathy with the *Call's* political doctrines, rightly believes that the cause involved "is the cause of free speech in America," and "calls on all other American newspapers that believe genuinely in free speech and a free press to follow it." Especially does it appeal to "those that are unalterably opposed to the *Call* politically and denounce its ideals on every occasion." Most of them will, of course, not respond. So deeply are they steeped in the hatreds of their own creation, so blind are these "molders of opinion," not only to the fundamental Americanism of this issue, but to its potentially close relationship to their own self-interest, that the *Sun's* appeal will mean little or nothing to them. But the significant thing is that a conservative metropolitan newspaper has jumped into the fight for the restoration of free press—this most vital of issues, if our Democracy is not wholly to perish—for which hitherto the radical and liberal press have alone been contending, and has erected a new standard of professional solidarity and decency to which all that is good in American journalism may repair. We shall be interested to see which of our leading journalistic exponents of 100 per cent Americanism aid the *Sun* in its fine stand.

THE suggestions put forward by the Postmaster General for bettering the Postal Savings System increase the favorable impression which he made by restoring second-class mailing rights to various publications from which they had been wrongfully taken. In an editorial on "A Government Savings System" on March 2 last, we quoted Mr. Hoover's condemnation of the present interest rate on postal savings as too low and the assertion of Eugene Meyer, Jr., that it might be advanced from 2 per cent to 4 per cent with advantage to the Government as well as to depositors. Mr. Hays agrees with Mr. Hoover that the rule requiring money to remain on deposit a whole year in order to draw interest is unjustifiable; it has, he says, "amounted almost to fraud." The Government actually paid less than 1½ per cent on postal savings last year, says Mr. Hays, while it made a net profit of $1,720,000 by redeposits in banks. "This was sheer profiteering," says Mr. Hays bluntly. We agree with him, and the shame of it is that it was profiteering at the expense of the smallest savers, 70 per cent of whom are of foreign extraction and deposit with the Government because they trust it to be honest! Mr. Hays advocates increasing the interest rate from 2 per cent to 3 per cent and paying interest on deposits remaining less than a year. He would also increase the postal savings offices from the present 6,300 to 50,000. He believes that a billion dollars of hoarded money can be brought into circulation by a just and progressive administration of the Postal Savings System.

THE situation of the Jews in Europe continues deplorable and should not be permitted to fade from the consciousness of civilized men. They are struggling in vain for the civic rights assured them by constitutions or treaties in Rumania, Esthonia, and Latvia, and the Ukraine is still the scene of frequent though sporadic massacres. The area of anti-Semitic infection, furthermore, is constantly spreading. The press established by the Russian émigrés with propaganda centers in Sophia, Constantinople, Belgrade, and actual pogrom organs—for the first time in history—in Berlin, London, and even Yokohama, are seeking malignantly to saddle all the troubles of the world upon the Jewish people.

THE Republic of Poland is, in this matter, in the lead and is rapidly becoming a substitute for Czarist Russia. The Jewish disabilities inherited from the Russian regime are not revoked. The *Tribuna* of Warsaw frankly admits the pogrom propaganda of the Polish priests, whose attitude is exemplified by a certain Father Lutoslavsky's pronouncement that "only genuine anti-Semites are properly qualified to deal with the Jews in the name of the Polish people." Thus anti-Jewish excesses are of daily occurrence and bear with an especial and tragic force upon the Jews in the German communities of Posen accustomed for many years to full civic rights and unquestioned social standing. On Sunday, June 19, street demonstrations took place in the cities of the province for the purpose of preventing Poles, on punishment of death, from dealing with Jews or Germans. In Bromberg the Jews, many of whom have lived in the city for generations, were threatened with expulsion within three days and the police with difficulty prevented the destruction of the local synagogue. To anyone familiar with conditions in that part of the world such occurrences in the city of Bromberg will bring home, as few other things can, the inhuman recklessness of the territorial shuffling and gambling of Versailles—which some Americans still insist we should approve.

"THE time has come," the Dempsey said,
"To talk of many things:
Of cigarettes and income tax,
Of Carpentiers and kings,
Of whether noses bleed a week,
And whether wealth has wings."

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The Chief Justice—A Mistaken Appointment

IF a charming personality, unblemished rectitude, and high character, together with long public service, were the sole requisites for the Chief Justiceship of the United States, there would be an unbroken chorus of praise for the selection of William Howard Taft for that position. Few men in public life have been personally as popular. Few politicians long preserve as much of the milk of human kindness. Generous, loyal to his friends, with a good nature as rare as it is benign, Mr. Taft makes the strongest appeal to all who like him. So it is not easy to resist the lure, which those who know him personally must feel, to rejoice that so signal an honor has come to the senior ex-President.

But the duty of a recorder of facts, and an honest commentator on passing events, cannot be waved aside by reason of friendship or personal liking. For the question is not whether to give a great position to a popular public man but whether that man is really intellectually equipped for an office which wields an enormous influence upon our national life and development—the Supreme Court, it must be remembered, has both legislative and judicial functions, although credited only with the latter. From this point of view we must regretfully record our belief that the choice of Mr. Taft is a grave mistake. It must be plain that what the position of Chief Justice called for in these rapidly changing times, fraught with momentous issues, was far less a thick and thin supporter of the existing order than a man with broad vision and open mind; not a man long in political life and definitely committed to given political views, but one who is at least not on record as having closed his mind on certain political developments which may or may not come before him as Chief Justice for adjudication in one form or another. Take, for instance, the questions arising out of the activities of the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota. Here is what Mr. Taft had to say about this organization in an address delivered in this city on April 30:

> There has also been a combination of farmers, called the Nonpartisan League, originating in North Dakota, and spreading to neighboring States. That is not a patriotic American party. It has been made possible by the insistence of a number of unsuccessful and in many instances of foreign-born farmers in North Dakota, who were aroused by a real grievance, as to grain classification and rates, and who conceived the idea that through a political combination they could exclude every other class and every other interest and run the State for the farmers alone. They adopted state socialism and proceeded to do state banking, the state warehousing, and performing all the other functions essential to the marketing of their crops by the state agencies.

Now, leaving aside the question as to whether Mr. Taft's statement of facts as to the League is or is not correct—*The Nation's* readers will have their own opinions as to that—it must be perfectly plain that Mr. Taft will not be able to divest himself of an acquired prejudice in any case coming before him because of the activities of the League.

But this is not the only case. In this same speech Mr. Taft came out against a separate labor party, against the general strike, against the initiative and the referendum in any general application, against the popular primary, and in favor of a convention system "safeguarded against corruption." As to the railroads, in a speech at Syracuse recently, Mr. Taft came out flat-footedly against anything approaching national ownership—curiously enough at the very moment when he had accepted a retainer from the Canadian Government to evaluate the privately owned railroads which the Canadian Government is about to nationalize. As to our foreign born population, Mr. Taft declared that:

> Many of them have a prejudice against all government and do not have the sympathy with our institutions which makes for real assimilation . . . and they use this country only as a means of earning a livelihood, and not with any idea of supporting the Government and becoming a part of it, but rather with the hope of some day overcoming it in the interest of a vague socialist or anarchist state in which they are to share in the wealth they see and envy. It is they who form the nucleus of the Socialist Party. It is they who strengthen the anarchist group.

This of the millions who chiefly bear the burden and the brunt of the industrial day; whose labor is largely the foundation of our wealth; who are abused, exploited, terrorized!

Of course nowhere does one find deep sympathy with the toilers who would rise; nowhere in Mr. Taft's utterances is there a trace of the sublime faith of Abraham Lincoln in the wisdom of the masses. The terrible war persecution of groups like the Lutherans and the Scandinavians in our country he dismisses with the remark that "the searching investigation and test of the loyalty of these men, and the analysis of their tendency and purpose, were most useful in solving the problem they presented . . ." It is needless to remind our readers that Mr. Taft never once effectively protested during the war against the repeated violations of the Constitution by the Wilson Administration and numberless Federal officials; he did not even join Secretary Hughes in denouncing the expulsion of the Socialists from the Legislature at Albany, and there is no reason to believe that he would have been with the minority of the Supreme Court against the abuses of personal liberty and the right of assembly. Finally, it must not be forgotten that Mr. Taft's political views were passed upon by the American people in 1912, and that only two States voted for him. He was then, as now, opposed both to the progressive doctrines of the Wilson Democracy and to those of the Progressive Party.

As for Mr. Taft's record as a lawyer, Senator Borah in opposing his confirmation held that he was not qualified because he had not been active in the law for thirty years, during which time he has not tried a law suit, or practiced law, that he is within three years of the retiring age, and within seven years of the time when by law he will be presumed incompetent for the Supreme Court. "In other words," he added, "you are taking a man who has spent a large part of his life in politics and putting him at the head of the greatest judicial tribunal in the world." More than that, Mr. Harding has placed in this high position a man who is intellectually indolent; those about him in the White House had no more important duty than to overcome his procrastination; it was his leaving to the last minute the consideration of the Pinchot-Ballinger case, and then giving it a hasty reading, and a wrong judgment, which as much as anything else wrecked his administration. He has himself admitted in his generous, manly, and frank way that his fatal Winona speech indorsing the Payne-Aldrich tariff in 1910 was "written on the train between stations without adequate consideration." It was not a Taft, but a Brandeis, or a Holmes, that the hour called for.

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Profit-Making vs. Cooperative Housing

THREE startling facts stand out vividly before us in a consideration of the Untermyer revelations: (1) The bribers, usurers, and grafters-in-general operated their profit-making institutions with amazing success before the public interfered; (2) once the enormity of the exploitation of the people's needs is revealed, the remedies proposed by Mr. Untermyer himself and by the newspapers and lawmakers in general are by no means far-reaching; (3) both the revelations of fraud and the prescribed cures find the public quite apathetic. To the public, it looks as though these dealers in building materials, credit, and labor were very able exponents of the profit-making system under which all of us live. If it is right and proper to charge all the traffic will bear, these men are scarcely to be held censurable. They competed among themselves for a good while, but finally learned that the public could be made to bear more exploitation if they united and pitted their competitive skill against the tenants' needs. What drastic remedy will help us? It is not more punishment for profiteers, nor Federal control of profiteering which we should have but housing free of profit-making control. The cooperative housing movement would help us to meet this need at least in notable degree.

In many of the European countries and in parts of the United States little groups of people have pooled their resources, acquired plots of land, found credit at cooperative banks, and built their own houses under collective management. In some countries many of these societies have federated and gained control of timber lands, lime deposits, gravel beds, quarries, and brickyards, and have then eliminated private profit not only from rentals but from credit supply and the manufacture of many building materials. Thus the British Building Guilds have contracted to do $5,000,000 worth of building this summer for the cooperative societies of England. They are planning to get their lumber direct from Russia at greatly reduced rates, and their financing will be done by the cooperative banks, while the Cooperative Wholesale Society will care for all insurance. Switzerland has a whole village of houses built and owned cooperatively by the tenants, those of four rooms renting for $170 a year. Danish Home Building Societies were handicapped for years by the great cement trust which operated throughout all the Scandinavian countries; therefore they organized the Cooperative Cement Works Society to fight this trust; and today they also own a brickyard, a concrete plant, and a factory for the making of plaster of Paris. Beginnings have already been made in the United States. In Brooklyn, for example, a group of 32 working-class families formed a Home Building Cooperative Association, raised $8,000, and bought a piece of land. Then, instead of going on their knees to one of the local profit-making banks for further funds, they applied to the Co-operative Bank of Fitchburg, Mass., and obtained a mortgage loan to complete their apartment houses. Today these tenant-owners are paying $25 to $27 a month for high-class five-room apartments which would rent for $75 and $80 in the open market. Twenty per cent of this rental goes to pay off the mortgage and in a few years they will collectively have the complete ownership of their homes, and the "rent" (covering taxes and expenses of operation only) will be even lower than it is now. What they have done others can do.

Cooperative housing must develop rapidly in the next few years. Almost all other channels of escape are closed to a public which is rapidly growing uneasy. People are becoming intelligent: they know that patchwork plans for housing reform are futile, and they distrust any further meddling by an over-officious crowd of politicians. When millions of men and women find that a problem as vital as that of homes has become so complex that all the wise men of the country cannot unscramble it, then the millions will be ready for deliberate and orderly reorganization of home building in terms simple enough for all of them to understand. Cooperative building is the way out. Small groups can well get together, save their dollars, and gradually go to home-building. Architects disgusted with the old order of things are waiting for the chance to serve such groups as these. Labor is already on record in New York as determined to do more than its share in cooperative building. Credit is available at a few cooperative banks and will be readily found to meet a real demand. Some building materials are today on the open market, and a well-developed cooperative movement will, in the course of time, begin to control all these sources of supply. Even now we need but a few score societies like that in Brooklyn in order that these groups, acting collectively, can buy their own gravel beds, build their own brick and concrete plants, join with the cooperators of England in the wise use of timber lands, and gradually extend their economic power until large numbers of the people in American cities will again be actual masters of their own homes, and the speculator among landlords and builders will seem to be only a remnant of a very dark age. Exploitation of land and production of houses for use rather than for profit will come just as fast as the men and women of our cities realize the possibilities and organize cooperatively to get them. There is no more useful public service being performed today than that given by those who are leading the way in the American cooperative movement.

Gustave Flaubert: 1821-1921

THE romantic historical pageantry which surrounds the city of Rouen will yield more and more in interest and even splendor to the memories of that white house at Croisset near the city in which Gustave Flaubert lived and wrote. For his personality and his work are, in a word that is often falsely but here at last justly used, epoch-making. The modern novel, which is not only a form of art, but a new way of applying human vision to the world, is inconceivable without him. Zola made a great noise in his time and his imitators do so still. But the works that transcend the noises of their day, from "Esther Waters" to "Of Human Bondage," and from "Washington Square" to "Main Street," owe the character of their innermost being to the author of "Madame Bovary" and "L'Education sentimentale."

Flaubert taught the novelist the central truth that to render reality is enough. He saw that moral power and spiritual significance inhere in the material, in the personal vision which is identical with style, and in the interpenetration of these two. Thus he eliminated at once both the pointing of morals and the adorning of tales, and exemplified

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the organic character of the truth and the beauty of his art.

It would be easy to illustrate the establishment of this principle from his books. But these are in all hands. He spoke out clearly and memorably in that magnificent correspondence which is but little known among us. There is the evidence that he worked always with a high and austere kind of consecration. "I seek no port, but the high seas. If my ship is wrecked I ask no one to grieve." That has an heroic sound. "Love art rather than myself. It is a love that will not fail you; sickness will not touch it nor death. Worship the idea which alone is true because it alone is eternal." To embody the idea was his mission, and to embody it in perfect works. "Toil and, above all, meditate. Condense your thought. Purple patches are futile. Unity —everything is in that! A whole—that is what our writers, big or little, fail of today. A thousand fine passages don't constitute a work. Compress your style. Weave a tissue as supple as silk and as strong as a coat of mail."

He discovered early the inner method by which such works could be built. "To see that a thing is interesting, it is only necessary to contemplate it long enough." Thus his matter was easily at hand. "Let us try to see things as they are and not be cleverer than God who made them. . . . It doesn't matter from what we draw poetry, for it lies in all things and places." In this way he came to see the beauty of "the moral density which dwells in many ugly things" and to experience the strange ecstasy of the artist when "external reality so enters into him as to make him almost cry out with the need of rendering it." Nor did he fail to draw the necessary philosophical inferences from this specific relation of the creative mind to the world. "What sustains me is the conviction that I dwell in the true and doing so I not only dwell in the good but fulfil a duty and execute justice." His selective range excluded only what hid and bedizened and falsified itself. He loved "even the ignoble when it is sincere. But whatever lies and poses, whatever condemns passion and has the grimace of virtue—that revolts me utterly."

His preoccupation with style which Pater described in a well-known passage was, after all, the servant of his controlling search for reality. "There are two men in me: one a lyrist, a lover of the strange, the haunting, the sonorous. The other desires to make the things he describes felt almost in their material nature." It was the second man who prevailed; it was he who saw that style is not in technique nor in the hunt for beautiful words, but is "in itself alone an absolute manner of seeing things." He had, like every artist, hours of a sheer delight in the mere texture of his art and in such hours dreamed "of a style as rhythmic as verse, as precise as the language of the sciences, but with the moaning vibrations of the cello and with tongues of flame." In the end, however, he returned always to the concept of style as the result of a personal and creative relation to truth.

From all the passages here quoted there arises the spirit and mood that make Gustave Flaubert a sort of patron saint of men of letters everywhere. They sustain to him a relation peculiarly close and warm. He is, more truly than Johnson, the man of letters as hero. No one else has had his supreme and laborious faith in the life of art in itself; no one has more magnificently exemplified that faith in his practice. "May I die like a dog rather than hasten a phrase that isn't ripe." He kept his word. He remains ideal and example, teacher and practitioner, road and goal.

Peace at Last

WHOLLY overshadowed by the accounts of the prize-fight, there appeared on Sunday, July 3, the momentous news that at last a state of peace with Germany had been legally restored. In the presence of a family group at Senator Frelinghuysen's home at Raritan, the joint resotion of Congress was duly signed by President Harding, and the state of war, begun in April, 1917, finally ended. The armistice, which was welcomed so deliriously on November 11, 1918, has been superseded after just two years, seven months, and twenty-odd days, by an official affirmation of the peace conditions in which we have actually been living. It was an absurd state of affairs, under which, although technically still at war, Americans traveled freely in Germany and did business there to the extent that they could obtain it, while Germans came over here on similar errands, but it was characteristic of the topsy-turvy universe and of the fictitious war-world in which we have been living.

Would there have been such a joyous celebration on that memorable day in 1918, when so many telephone books and ticker tapes were sacrificed, if a vision of the next three years could have been flashed before the excited throngs? Perhaps not, though the eager desire of the country to have the war over surprised the people themselves on that historic day. But the period since has been so characterized by bitter disappointments, we have witnessed such a growth of imperialism in America and are living in so severe an economic depression, that in some respects the armistice years have been harder to bear than those of the war. For one thing we have learned many facts and some people have even learned the truth that we went into the war in blind ignorance of the true conditions and the real contending forces, and that at Paris we lost infinitely more than we gained by our military victories. People are even beginning to ask, who really won the war, and it is proof in part of our disillusionment that the bulk of our people are so eager now to lay aside the trappings of war which cost us so dear and safeguarded neither democracy nor liberty. We have learned the lesson anew that war accomplishes nothing lasting, settles nothing and destroys infinitely.

But retrospect, inevitable as it is at this hour, is less satisfactory by far than to glimpse ahead. What now? We shall shortly have before us the plan Mr. Hughes is said to be working on to clear up the whole situation, which will doubtless include an effort to ratify something of the Versailles Treaty and, if this fails, then to bring on a separate pact. Any effort to save any part of the Versailles Treaty should fail. True, there are still voices to be heard that say if only we had ratified that precious document and gone full speed ahead we should not have witnessed the existing economic anarchy of Europe. Nothing is further from the truth; the economic distress would have gone on as it has. It is now so grave that at last the dominant statesmen of Europe realize, according to Sir Philip Gibbs and others, that if they do not organize for peace as they did for war and begin to formulate a new social order at once things will everywhere collapse. If Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes can sense this and take the lead they will indeed render themselves blessed. Let us at least hope that with the war officially ended they will now promptly undo some of the war crimes and wrongs, release the political prisoners, and restore the stolen German property and patents. Let us now have peace with Germany in truth and in honor.

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The Truth About the American Legion

By ARTHUR WARNER

IV. Meddling in Politics

PRESENT tendencies in the American Legion appear to be away from the violence and intimidation described in the previous article, but as there noted, the change is one of practice, not principle—of manners, not morals. The Legion is still imbued with the spirit of repression and coercion, of prejudice and unreason, which the war nourished; but it has to heed the cry of "Back to normal!" which the rest of the community is raising, and is beginning to clothe the nakedness of its purposes in peace-time garments. "Back to normal!" means back to a public sentiment which will tolerate almost anything but the "roughneck"; which has compelled even Big Business and Tammany Hall to become "respectable." In its newer methods the Legion is discarding the khaki shirt for the white collar, and is shaving once a day instead of once a week. More specifically, it is seeking to mold public policies and obtain laws, where a year ago it would have resorted to direct action. But its purposes remain the same.

Take a recent instance in West Virginia. Kate O'Hare was booked to make a speech in Weston on April 25. A year ago the Legion would have demanded that the city officials prevent the speech, regardless of law, and if met with refusal, would have broken up the meeting. What they did in this year of grace was to demand that the city officials pass an ordinance under which the meeting would be forbidden! And the city council, equally attuned to the niceties in the suppression of freedom upon which normalcy depends, met in the morning of the day for which the speech was announced, and according to an attested copy of the minutes in the hands of the American Civil Liberties Union, voted "that any public appearance or speech on the part of the said Kate O'Hare may lead to and result in riot and disorderly conduct to the danger and damage of the public," and therefore that she "be prohibitted [original spelling] by the Mayor and Chief of Police of this City from speaking on the streets or alleys of this City or other place from which she may be heard from such streets, alleys or other public place." Violation of this order was made punishable by a fine of not less than $100 and a jail sentence of not less than thirty days. Observe that the order applied to private as well as public property and that it was directed against a single individual; it was, of course, as illegal as it was ridiculous.

Not wholly satisfied with its work, the city council met again at seven o'clock in the evening and extended its prohibition against Mrs. O'Hare to "anyone associated with her or who might speak along the same line or in the interest of the same cause" and also to "anyone who might speak in opposition to said Kate O'Hare or those associated with her." The meeting actually assembled on a private lawn. The chairman of the meeting attempted to open it. He was at once arrested and sentenced under the ordinance. He took an appeal which had not been decided at this writing.

Now note the attitude of the national office of the Legion toward this amazing incident. The national office, of course, has never been able openly to countenance violence; it has mildly deprecated it or taken refuge behind the excuse that it was "individual" or "unofficial." But here, apparently, it felt that the proceeding was sufficiently covered by the forms of law, and the Weston *Democrat* of May 13 printed a letter to the local Legion commander from Alvin M. Owsley, assistant national director, in which the latter said:

> It is highly gratifying and indeed pleasing to those of us at National Headquarters to read the account of the splendid conduct of your Legion Post during the recent unwelcome visit of Kate O'Hare into your community.
>
> One of the righteous principles of the preamble of our constitution is "to maintain law and order." Let us be sure that the Legion has dedicated itself to those high and exalted ideals expressed in the preamble. The Legion must lead the way—be strong and unafraid to perform our duty under any and all circumstances.

All over the United States during the past year American Legion posts have been agitating for laws to restrict the spread of ideas or teachings other than their own brand of "100 per cent Americanism." The "anti-sedition" and "criminal syndicalism" laws that so many States have enacted have been initiated or sponsored by the Legion.

Of course the modern tendency to act through legislation has led the organization into greater meddling in politics than ever. "The American Legion shall be absolutely non-political and shall not be used for the dissemination of partisan principles or for the promotion of the candidacy of any person seeking public office or preferment," reads the constitution. This clause has been callously thrown to the wolves in the development of a national program. The Legion's national conventions have declared, for instance, for rigid restriction of immigration; for the total exclusion of Japanese; for universal compulsory military training; for the deportation of Victor Berger; for the publication of the "slacker lists"; for congressional legislation requiring the basis of all instruction in elementary public and private schools to be the "American language"; against the release of conscientious objectors; against amnesty for political prisoners. Last January the Legion's Committee on Military Affairs opposed reducing the army even to 175,000 men and more recently opposed the withdrawal of American troops from the Rhine. Last autumn the late F. W. Galbraith, as national commander, indorsed Mr. Wilson's refusal of a pardon to Debs, while in Georgia the Legion opposed, unsuccessfully, the candidacies of Thomas E. Watson and Thomas W. Hardwick, running on the Democratic ticket for United States Senator and Governor, respectively. These are some of the ways in which the Legion has lived up to its constitutional requirement to be "absolutely non-political." And worst of all, perhaps, in all this political meddling the Legion has showed itself to be pathetically visionless, uninformed, and behind the times.

In its effort to improve and coordinate insurance, re-education, and hospital work in behalf of former service men, the Legion has been on the right track, while in its demands for bonus legislation and preference in the civil service, State and Federal, one must admit that, regardless of the wisdom of the measures, the Legion has not gone outside of the legitimate field of attention to the special interests of its members. At the same time, the champions of a Federal bonus have shown almost the same

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intolerance and disregard for the rights of the opposition in their own ranks as in their pursuit of the "reds." At the preliminary caucus in St. Louis in June, 1919, where the Legion first took shape in this country, no stand was taken in regard to the bonus, and at the first national convention in the following autumn a resolution was carried which read:

> While the American Legion was not founded for the purpose of promoting legislation in its selfish interest, yet it recognizes that our Government has an obligation to all service men and women to relieve the financial disadvantages incidental to their military service—an obligation second only to that of caring for the disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who sacrificed their lives and one already acknowledged by our Allies—but the American Legion feels that it cannot ask for legislation in its selfish interest, and leaves with confidence to the Congress the discharge of this obligation.

After the convention, however, the national officers worked out a bonus plan under the euphemism of "adjusted compensation," lobbied for it before Congress, and succeeded in getting the House to pass it. At the same time a publicity campaign was undertaken in behalf of the measure and the steam roller was run ruthlessly over all opposition within the organization. The Leon Soniat Post was expelled by the Louisiana organization because it dared to send a communication to the National Democratic Convention and to the State's delegation in Congress saying that the bonus plan had been foisted on the Legion without a referendum. The Irwin Post of San Francisco called upon D. P. Barrows, president of the University of California, to resign as State commander of the Legion because of his opposition to a bonus. And so it went.

Indeed the Legion has generally shown the same determination to standardize thought within its ranks as without. It has trained its guns mercilessly upon any salient due to the mistaken conception of a member that he had a right to think for himself. The Ithaca post asked the Kings County organization to expel one of its student members at Cornell because he objected to the Legion's interference with Fritz Kreisler when the latter appeared in response to an invitation from the university.

But the most notorious case of the abuse of the Legion's power against its own members is that of Alexander E. Anderson, who served with the Rainbow Division overseas as lieutenant colonel of the 165th Infantry (Sixty-ninth Regiment, New York National Guard). Opinion differs as to the wisdom and good taste of the "Horror of the Rhine" meeting in New York City last spring to protest against the use of black troops in the occupied region of Germany, but there can be no question of the right of a Legion member to take part in it as an individual. Because Colonel Anderson took part in the meeting, the New York County organization undertook to expel him. He declined to be expelled on the ground that he was no longer a member, the Sixty-ninth Regiment post having previously disbanded because of dissatisfaction with the ways of the Legion. In a letter calling attention to this, Colonel Anderson said:

> It is remarkable how solemn a bluff the Legion manages to make on such slender resources of soldier support. That is really the thing it does best. It assumes to speak as the mouthpiece of ex-service men, whereas its organization is nothing but a shell which is fast crumbling, for the great mass of service men has refused to join it. When the American Legion ceases to parade as the puppet of a privileged few under the guise of an American patriotic organization, when it aligns itself with the great mass of our citizens in the real fight for the preservation of American principles, such as the rehabilitation of our traditional spirit of liberty, free speech, free press, and free assembly, at such time, then, will it be the privilege and the duty of those who have fought for America to enrol as members.

V. The Legion and the Schools

The Legion's drive on the schools is worth a word by itself because it is one of the recent and insidious methods by which the organization is trying to gain its ends. At a meeting in New York City on May 1 of this year, the late F. W. Galbraith, national commander, was quoted by the New York *Times* as saying: "We are going to survey every school-teacher and every school in the United States, and we will get the teachers' records. If we find them disloyal, we will tell you, and you can kick them out."

In New York the delegates to the State convention last autumn adopted a resolution advocating the compulsory teaching of American history and civil government in public and private schools, with a Legion committee to examine textbooks "to determine whether they are loyal." In Oklahoma a law has been obtained providing that the American flag shall be displayed in every schoolroom and that proper reverence for it shall be taught by prescribed "ceremonials." North Dakota has passed a law making citizenship a prerequisite to employment as a teacher in the public schools, while Nebraska has forbidden the teaching of foreign language in her grade schools.

VI. The Itch for Office

By its constitution the Legion seeks to prevent use of the organization as a means of gaining public office, yet the number of men who have employed it as a stepping-stone to political jobs is impressive. The constitution says: "No candidate for, or incumbent of, a salaried elective public office shall hold office in the American Legion or in any department or post thereof." This is good except for the joker, which is the failure to extend the prohibition to appointive office.

According to a statement by the National Legislative Committee last autumn at least thirteen men elected to Congress at the November polls were members of the American Legion. So many good berths have gone to Legion men in the Harding Administration that it would be possible to organize a flourishing Federal Job Holders' Post. To mention only a few influential Legionaries in important positions, there is, as Secretary of the Navy, Edwin Denby, who was one of the organizers of the Legion overseas, and as Assistant Secretary there is Theodore Roosevelt, king pin of the Legion's sponsors. J. M. Wainwright is Assistant Secretary of War; Thomas W. Miller, for a year chairman of the National Legislative Committee, and a member of the National Executive Committee, was recently made Alien Property Custodian; while Edward Clifford, chairman of the Legion's Finance Committee at the last convention, is Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in charge of the consolidated soldier relief work.

The Legion in the State of New York has been described as an adjunct to the Republican Party. Be this as it may, Charles G. Blakeslee, State commander, and W. R. Pooley, member of the State Executive Committee, have recently been appointed to comfortable berths with the Public Service Commission.

A third article next week will deal with the Legion's official magazine, its Americanization program, and other topics.

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Armageddon: View from Athens

By HIRAM K. MODERWELL

Athens, June 14

THE foreigner visiting Athens might forgivably share the Greek illusion that Greece is one of the Great Powers. For Athens has all the superficial marks of a modern capital in which centers the business of a large and powerful nation. The rush-hour crowds at Concord Square are nearly as terrifying as those of Broadway and Forty-second Street. Some twenty-five newspapers daily perturb the souls of two hundred and fifty thousand Athenians. There is a subway through which rapid electric trains maintain an efficient commuters' service. The streets are broad, well paved, and very clean. An unbelievable number of motor-cars obey with respectful precision the commanding gestures of a numerous traffic squad. The shops groan with imported merchandise. The revues at three or four theaters are provided with the most entertaining music imaginable, are staged with inexhaustible fancy and variety of color, are extremely lively and very, very naughty ("très shocking!" exclaimed my Greek friend who was sitting next to me). One of the hotels is splendid to the point of luxury. "Society" teas and dances with a fine panache. Its costumes are indistinguishable (to the masculine eye, at least) from "the latest thing in Paris." Its leisure hours, comprising half the day and most of the night, are passed in the jazz palace, done à la Greenwich Village, in the cafe lounges or in the local gambling hell.

Of all this Greeks are very proud. They admit to you that they are "the descendants of Pericles" and "the salt of the earth," and they explain that they are "bearing the torch of civilization to Asia." They consider the half-Greek Levantine city of Smyrna, with an unspecified quantity of hinterland, as only a beginning. After that will come "the Greek capital" of Constantinople. Why not? they ask. Aren't they Greek cities? The communist daily *Risospastes* remarked one day that the Greeks would soon be annexing Egypt on the strength of the Greek population of Alexandria, and France in order to preserve the Greek civilization of Marseilles. This pleasantry is psychologically so true that it is hardly even funny.

So it is comprehensible that the Greek attack on the Kemalist army, which is now drawing to its bitter end, was undertaken with flippant confidence. There were nine divisions of Greek troops in Asia Minor. The French experts at the London Conference asserted that to defeat Kemal would require twenty-eight French divisions. "But," the Greek Premier is said to have replied loftily, "*our* troops are Greek." At least one of the Athens dailies said precisely that.

It must not, you see, be supposed that the Greeks returned to sanity when they returned to Constantine. They never repudiated Venizelism. They only repudiated the personal tyranny of a military usurper who exasperated them by acts ranging from the execution of the parrot which sang the royalist hymn to the imprisoning of harmless dotards in distant fortress dungeons and the arresting of a ladies' tea party as a royalist plot. They respected and admired Venizelos for what he had done for Greek imperialism. They loved the way he had maneuvered Greece on to the winning side, the way he made mystic passes over Allied diplomats, the way he bowed and scraped to foreign governments and got money out of them. And, most of all, they loved the Asiatic war he had got them into.

What they voted for at the November election was the Venizelist policy with a romantic king instead of the Venizelist espionage system. No party in the kingdom, except the Communist, repudiated that policy. No party undertook to enlighten the people concerning the gravity of the adventure they were waltzing into. All those personages whom our newspaper slang terms "responsible statesmen" assured the people that the attack on Kemal would be "a military promenade to Angora." Yet they knew that in actual fighting strength there was not a great difference between the two armies, while there was an enormous difference in the military conditions of attack and defense.

They also gave their people to understand that Greece was receiving the active support of Great Britain. But Britain was not only refusing supplies and loans to Greece (probably at French insistence), but was actually, by virtue of its position as one of the international stewards of Greek finance, preventing the Government from floating loans or inflating its currency to carry on the war.

The king assured his troops that they were going to attack "unorganized bands of bandits." So Athens continued to jazz and tea while the newspapers were continually capturing Eski-Shehir the next day. But soon the wounded—the slightly wounded—began returning by shiploads to Athens, telling how they had attacked, instead of "unorganized bands," veritable mountain fortresses, protected by line after line of trenches and barbed wire, while machine-guns rattled in front of them and great cannon took them in the flank and bombs dropped on them from the skies. And Athens continued to jazz and tea when it finally leaked out that "having obtained our objective we have retired to our original positions." No mention was made of the Greek dead, though of course "the enemy's losses were frightful." But out in the country districts the young men of draft age took to the mountains with their ancestral firearms. The Government dared not call on more men for fear of a peasant revolt. It dared not tax its profiteers for fear of a financial panic manipulated in revenge. The king, a symbol worth ten divisions, dared not go to the front for fear of jeopardizing the dynastic prestige by being present at a defeat. And the Government dared not withdraw from Mr. Venizelos's war. So the young men of Greece were left in Asia Minor to be torn to pieces by Kemal's heavy artillery, while the Government sought queer expedients for money, and the merchants suspended foreign payments, and the drachmae dropped, and Piraeus harbor was cluttered with unpaid-for imports.

Just six months too late the British Government is wondering whether it shall further imperil the French entente by coming openly to the support of the almost desperate Greek cause. And it is wondering something else—as yet tentatively and unofficially: whether it would not be good strategy to allow the Greeks to bear the torch of civilization into Constantinople, or at least to use this threat to bring Kemal to terms. Make no mistake: the Straits would still be "demilitarized"—that is to say, militarily under the control of the British navy; and their commerce would remain under the invisible domination of England. But if some day there should be an uprising and a massacre of foreigners in Constantinople, wouldn't it be better to leave the costly job of suppressing it to the heirs of Pericles rather than to British Tommies?

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The Lusk-Stevenson Report: A State Document

By ALBERT DE SILVER

> It is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.

THE labors of the Luskers are over, or, to speak more properly, the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of New York Investigating Seditious Activities has published its report. The Report fills four imposing blue volumes of over four thousand pages. They were written and compiled under the supervision of the Committee, by Mr. Archibald E. Stevenson with the aid of several less distinguished collaborators.

As was expected by everyone they are amazing volumes. In the first place they are an amazing bore. Although their pages are illustrated by many photographs (including one of an actual revolution caught in the act, of which I understand Mr. Stevenson is very proud) and although here and there a naive buffoonery nods its unwitting cap and bells at the reader, yet the volumes are inexpressibly, irremediably dull. Chapter after chapter of loose talk taken from radical writings and speeches are piled one upon another. Official document follows official document in endless succession. And loose talk, even when authoritatively marked "subversive," palls after, say, a thousand pages, while official documents—even such juicy bits as revolutionists write—are, after all, official documents. The volumes are tiresome. There is no doubt about it.

Next, it must be said that the work is an amazing monument to the industry and the patience of Mr. Stevenson. Through its leaves one can fairly see him poring patiently over the pages of other people's letters hour after hour, day after day, month after month—one can imagine him sitting at his desk night after night working with tireless energy while each speech of Lenin's, each manifesto of modern radicalism is given its proper correlation to Marx and Engels. That almost all of these documents were open and notorious, that every well-informed student of political history and conditions already knew about such of them as are important, has not troubled Mr. Stevenson at all. Through laborious collecting he seems to have come to regard them as priceless discoveries and possessions worthy of the most painstaking industry, and he has made of them (at public expense) an extraordinary source-book by efforts which call to mind nothing so much as Mr. Lytton Strachey's description of Queen Victoria arranging and photographing and cataloguing the endless personal possessions of her eighty years. Mr. Stevenson has earned his place in history, which conceivably might otherwise have been overlooked, and he has earned it by his works. Upon what the carping historian may say about it, it would be unkind to dwell. "Let the curtains of the future hang."

The Report itself is broadly divided into two parts. The first two volumes bear the title "Subversive Movements" and the last two are reassuringly named "Constructive Measures." The first five hundred pages are devoted to a survey of revolutionary and subversive movements, both present and in historical perspective, in other parts of the world. The history of the origin and growth of socialism in Europe, Australasia, and Central and South America is rapidly sketched and particular emphasis is properly laid upon its development since the Russian Revolution. Many interesting documents are included, and this part of the work is of considerable value as a source-book for the student of politics. Whether the historical statement apart from the documents is good I do not feel qualified to say. The omission of any reference to the relation between the growth of radical thought and attempted repression is, however, striking. No mention is made of the gains made by the German Social-Democratic Party while Bismarck's anti-Socialist laws were in force and the Report is equally silent as to the political prisons of Siberia.

The taxpayer, who has had to foot the bill for this industrious compilation of the history of radicalism, may well wonder what it all has had to do with seditious activities within the State of New York. This query is answered in the introduction of the second section of the work:

> Conditions in Europe inevitably have a reflex action upon the people of the United States. So long as the Communist elements are in control of the masses of Russia and remain a force to be reckoned with in the other countries of Europe, so long will they continue a menace to the institutions of the United States.

This principle Mr. Stevenson illustrates by referring to the Whiskey Rebellion of western Pennsylvania, which he says was the outgrowth of the agitation of "so-called democratic societies acting under the guise of protectors of civil liberties, which received their inspiration from the Jacobin Clubs of the French Revolution." I hesitate to dispute such a distinguished authority, but I do recall being taught that the instigators of the Whiskey Rebellion were those ardent state's rights men who, fearing the encroachments of the power of a strong federal government, determined upon the unhappy expedient of forcible resistance to the federal tax-gatherers. Mr. Stevenson's logic, I presume, would lead him to the conclusion that evaders of the Volstead Act have "received their inspiration" from Russian revolutionary societies.

After connecting American radicalism with Europe in this fashion, the Report proceeds to discuss in several subsections the history and present condition of movements deemed to be subversive in the United States. The development and activities of the Socialist Party, the Russian Soviet Bureau, and the Communist Parties are described in some three hundred pages. If the description be deemed contemporary history it is indeed history written with a sneer. It is buttressed with many official documents, the discovery of none of which can be set down in the list of the Committee's achievements, for the organizations described have been endeavoring to secure the widest possible publicity for these very documents ever since their promulgation. They successfully prove that the Socialist and Communist Parties wish to establish socialism and communism. Nothing important is made to appear which was not known before, unless it be the statement that the aims and purposes of the Socialist Party are substantially identical with those of the Communists. Mr. Stevenson's discriminating eye sees no real difference between the two and any statements in the official documents which indicate otherwise have, of course, been inserted to gull the public.

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The syllogism (page 555) by which the conclusion is reached is charmingly simple. Major premise: "The Socialist Party of America looks upon Eugene V. Debs . . . as its chief guide and prophet." Minor Premise: Among the groups invited to attend in the call for the Third International was included "the elements of the 'Left' of the Socialist Party of America (especially that group which is represented by Debs. . . .)." Conclusion: "Here falls the claim that the Socialist Party of America is a 'Right' organization. It is practically as much 'Left' as the Communist Party of America."

The anarchist movement is then discussed. The Committee seems to have been particularly outraged by the Ferrer Colony and its school at Stelton, N. J. The inhabitants of the colony, who are referred to in the Report as "denizens," are said to live "in utter abandon of the habits and principles that ordinarily govern respectable and law-abiding persons. The proprieties' existence are completely ignored by the men and women there. . . . Morality such as we understand it to be has no place in their scheme of things." The Committee's investigator who went to Stelton reports that women walk the streets and sit upon the porches "in rather extreme dishabille." Moreover, he was given a room adjoining one occupied by a woman "so situated that he could not avoid seeing everything that transpired in the adjoining room." Now really! Under these circumstances there are two things that the perfect gentleman can do. He can shut the door or he can refrain from looking through the crack in the wall. Clearly, the Committee's investigator did neither. It is difficult to find restrained language with which to express one's disgust at such slanderous falsification of a group of earnest, hard-working people.

Revolutionary industrial unionism is next discussed. Strangely enough the I. W. W. take up only a small portion of this sub-section, the bulk of it being devoted to such organizations as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Textile Workers, etc. Industrial unions are imbued, the Report says, with the philosophy of a struggle of classes, and the fact is emphasized "that the real danger to American government and to the structure of American society and its institutions rests in the continuous activity of such organizations." It is highly significant that a Committee investigating seditious activities should come to the conclusion that the real danger to our institutions is to be found in the ranks of labor unions which have not only brought order and reasonably tolerable conditions out of a chaotic and sweated industry, but have increased its production standards as well.

The enterprising reader who has progressed thus far in the Report will next be rewarded by coming upon eleven chapters devoted to "the spread of socialism in educated circles." These chapters are perhaps the most extraordinary in the four volumes. They are filled with a discussion of the activities of various organizations devoted to the cause of peace and international understanding, to the preservation of civil liberties, and to anti-militarism, as well as with gossip and innuendo about liberal tendencies in academic and church circles. The material has been gathered through a process of prying and spying, through an unabashed peering over people's shoulders, and an unblushing study of other people's private correspondence. Scores of quotations from letters are included, which prove nothing except that the letters were written and that their authors were trying to accomplish the ends which they publicly professed. Mr. Stevenson proves himself mentally incompetent to understand the intellectual position of a well-informed and liberal-minded person. If one believes in international understanding one must in some sly way be trying to promote international revolution. If one opposed the American entry into the war one doubtless had German gold jangling in one's pockets, if only it could be proved. If one is active in the defense of civil liberty, *ex necessitate* one must do it with the tongue in the cheek and for the real purpose of promoting violent change in the social order. The results of Mr. Stevenson's prying and spying of course have not altogether fitted into this a priori thesis, and accordingly he has had to resort to a selection of quotations overlaid with innuendo which presents a grossly inaccurate picture. One is tempted to believe that the main purpose of all this is to blacken and discredit the names of many devoted and distinguished persons with whose liberal views Mr. Stevenson does not agree. Unable successfully to combat them by reason and argument, he has had to resort to irrelevant slander.

Let one example both of method and of direct falsification suffice. On page 1116 Professor Harry F. Ward, of the Union Theological Seminary and chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, is quoted as indorsing

> the new gospel of bolshevism which he considers a spiritual movement replacing the outworn Christianity of the Russian Orthodox Church. He characterized the cognate I. W. W. "philosophy" as the most ideal and practical Christian philosophy since the days of Jesus Christ, and as expressing the ideas of Christ much more closely than any church of the present day.

The history of this traduction of Professor Ward's views is interesting. There came to his office one morning a young man who gave a name not his own and stated that he was about to commence a course of lectures on bolshevism and Americanism for the Y. M. C. A. and had been sent to Professor Ward for material. Professor Ward talked to him for some fifteen minutes, chided him for presuming to lecture on such a subject without previous study, and recommended him to certain source-books. He made no statements such as those quoted or remotely resembling them. Shortly thereafter a memorandum quoting Dr. Ward substantially as above was sent in a letter signed by Mr. Ralph M. Easley of the National Civic Federation to a person connected with the Union Theological Seminary, with the statement that it should be laid before as many as possible of the members of the board of trustees of the Seminary. A copy of the memorandum also found its way into the hands of Judge Gary, doubtless because of Professor Ward's connection with the Interchurch World Movement. That any American should adopt such methods for the purpose which was obviously in Mr. Easley's mind is a matter of regret. That a legislative committee of a sovereign State should publish the fruits of such a labor is a matter of humiliation.

Except for a full sub-section devoted to propaganda, where there is set forth a vast miscellany of extracts from publications, hand-bills, and pamphlets of one sort or another, which range all the way from loose and silly radical talk to the well-considered statements of liberal journals such as the *World Tomorrow*, the *Survey*, and *The Nation*, this about ends the study of subversive movements in this country except for an addendum in which the subjects

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treated are brought down to date as of November, 1920.

One next turns hopefully to the two volumes entitled "Constructive Measures." Under the head of Protective Governmental Measures we find a recommendation against trade with Russia; a not very able discussion of the legal limits of freedom of speech; and praise of federal methods in deportation proceedings under the administration of Attorney General Palmer. There then follows a not wholly notable survey of the relations of labor and capital in which Samuel Gompers is absolved of radicalism, and the Report concludes with two thousand pages filled with statements of various organizations in all parts of the country concerned with Americanization and a compilation of the statutes of all States in the Union bearing upon the subject.

That is all—save for the index at the end of the second volume, which simply cannot be ignored. It is a wonderful index. It is 245 pages long and lists every dangerous person mentioned in the Report (and many others as well), together with a list of the activities which make them dangerous. Some of these badges of shame are revealing of the mental characteristics of their compiler: Jane Addams: "praised in *Viereck's*"; Charles A. Beard: "withdraws from Columbia faculty because of radicalism"; Charles Chaplin: "*Liberator* stockholder"; Thomas W. Churchill: "praises 'style' of *Messenger*"; Rev. Henry Sloan Coffin: "protest against Espionage Act"; Felix Frankfurter: "of Harvard and American Civil Liberties Union"; Percy Stickney Grant: "'boring from within' activities"; Prof. E. C. Hayes: "correspondence with radicals"; Judge Ben Lindsey: "in sympathy with Conference for Democracy"; Judah L. Magnes: "connection with Civic Club of New York"; Amos Pinchot: "protest against Russian blockade"; Rev. Dr. Ryan: "leaning toward socialism"; Ordway Tead: "member, Bureau of Industrial Research"; Laurence Todd: "correspondence with Roger Baldwin"; and so on, to quote only a few.

The Report as a whole is an astounding revelation of a type of mind. It is a work of great labor. It is a work, I believe, of great earnestness and sincerity. Mr. Stevenson is a crusader. He believes that his mission is to save the Republic, and like too many persons with a mission his sense of humor and his ability to discriminate have been lost by the wayside. Convinced of the correctness of his own views of human society, he cannot understand how opposing views can be sincerely held, and he therefore attributes ulterior motives to his intellectual opponents. Certain that the evolution of the social order in broad outline has reached its pinnacle, he believes in the vital importance of resisting fundamental change and he believes in it so intensely that he is willing to use questionable methods to discredit and oppose those who suggest radical reform. It must be comforting to have so sure a faith. I envy him his certainty. It surmounts many intellectual obstacles. It dispels many scruples. It is a good sword and a strong shield to one who without effort would resist the currents of modern thought. But in the hands of government such a faith is fraught with peril to society. It is the unyielding iron of social rigidity. It takes away from men the power of mastery over their own lives. It chains their wills and battens down their aspirations. It stifles the ferment of social change. From time out of mind self-willed men, certain of their own rectitude, have tried to stifle that ferment. None have permanently succeeded. It is not likely that Mr. Archibald E. Stevenson will be the first.

Authors' Bureau of Censorship

By MAX McCONN

MR. REX TARKINGTON CHURCHILL, the famous novelist, made no difficulty whatever about seeing me. His appearance surprised me a little. Hair quite short; ruddy, clean-shaven face; keen blue eyes; tie a little loud, perhaps, and a carnation in his buttonhole; not even a cigarette—a stalwart, black, one-hundred-per-cent-American cigar. He might have been real estate, dry goods, automobiles, bonds—any kind of prosperous business man.

"Oh, I'm quite willing to talk—now," he said. "The game's up anyway. The Bureau is winding up its affairs. It couldn't be expected to keep up forever. But it's been a great success while it lasted."

"The whole story from the beginning? Sure I will. Smoke? You see, this matter of censorship was of vital importance to us writers. If an author could only get a book suppressed by the censor—any old censor—he was a made man. The papers all over the country would report it as news. The weeklies would make a controversy of it—print attacks on the censor and replies. Why, even the colyumnists and cartoonists would take it up some time! It was the only really successful kind of book advertising that's ever been devised. Worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. Even for the book suppressed it was fine. Before the suppression could be made effective it would have sold five times as many copies as it ever would have otherwise. And all the lucky chap's previous books, that probably never reached a thousand copies, any one of them, would come out in new editions and sell like—like a new jazz record! And then he hustles out of the attic some old manuscript that he's never been able to get printed, and it's rushed through the press on double shifts, and he becomes a 'best seller' with it! Oh, it was great stuff!"

He checked his enthusiasm long enough to light a fresh cigar.

"The only trouble," he continued, "was that so long as the business was unorganized—left to outside initiative—it was very unsystematic and hence inequitable. A vast number of books that were perfectly suppressible never got any notice at all and became a dead loss to the publishers and authors alike.

"Of course," he added, with a reflective puff, "the people who used to start the censoring in those days read hardly any books and seldom understood what they did read, and that was why they were so inefficient and unfair. They were not really to blame. Their intentions were the best.

"But in this day and age, obviously, we couldn't leave things like that, any more than we can let the waters at Niagara all run to waste. The answer was clearly *organization.*

"I"—he said it with modest pride—"was the one who conceived the idea. I talked it over with a number of my fellow-authors. They all became enthusiastic. We formed a company—had it incorporated—'The A. B. C. Company.' Authors' Bureau of Censorship, of course. But we couldn't put that in the public title. It would have given the whole show away. We engaged one of the best salesmen of a leading stock-and-bonds company to make a trip to Los Angeles and present the proposition to all the writers congregated there working on scenarios. It took him less than

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a week to sell our $500,000 worth of stock. He could just as easily have sold a million.

"Then we got down to the real business. It was plain, of course, that we couldn't have more than two or three suppressions running at the same time. Otherwise they would hurt one another and lose their news value. The great problem was to determine which author should have the first chance and the second and so on. We adopted the lottery method—like the Selective Draft, you know. It was the only fair way.

"The names of all the authors who belonged were written on slips of paper, and the folded slips were inclosed in capsules—the kind the druggists use for quinine. Then the capsules were deposited in an ancient Roman funeral urn, and one of our leading poetesses, clad in the white robe of a vestal virgin and blindfolded, worked six hours a day for three days drawing them out. They were opened as drawn and the names recorded in order under the supervision of a rigorously impartial committee of two leading novelists.

"How did we insure their impartiality? Oh, that was very simple. By promising them that they should be suppressed first of all. After them came the poetess, and then all the rest in the order of the drawing.

"In the meantime we had compiled lists of eminent, public-spirited citizens in a number of the principal cities—New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis—who could be relied upon to take the lead in the prosecution of any immoral book that was brought to their attention.

"Finally, we appointed from our own number what we called the Liaison Committee—using a term that became popular during the war. The business of its members was to get acquainted with the eminent citizens and put them wise to the immorality of the book whose turn it was to be suppressed."

"I suppose," I interjected, "that the members of your committee, being themselves well-known writers, had to make the acquaintance of the eminent citizens under assumed names."

"Oh, not at all! The eminent citizens could be trusted not to know of their being writers. As I have said already, such citizens never read anything themselves. They hadn't heard of any poet since Tennyson or any novelist later than Thackeray. As for dramatists, most of them supposed that term to be a special designation applied only to Shakespeare.

"No, we had no trouble at that point. The member of our committee had only to mention casually in conversation the latest work of the author whose turn it was to be advertised and comment on the sad state of public morals which would permit such a book to be circulated. The eminent citizen would, of course, be annoyed. He hated, naturally, to hear of a book in any connection. But his strict sense of public duty would force him to ask questions. Then our committeeman would produce the book and point out selected passages underlined with a red pencil (we found that blue was not nearly so effective), and exclaim upon the effect of such literature on our wives and daughters. He would also intimate that if some really distinguished person, whose name carried weight with the community, would take the matter up, he (the committeeman) would be willing to supply the money—it came from the Bureau, of course—to cover all expenses of the prosecution.

"That was all. The eminent citizen would do the rest. Within a few weeks the advertising would be in full swing. Delightfully simple, isn't it? Like all great ideas."

"But," said I, somewhat shocked myself, "is it really true that all the works of all our present-day American authors are so full of immoral passages that any one of them has but to be called to the attention of the ordinary, plain citizen to be prosecuted?"

"Well," he replied, "it depends on what you mean by 'immoral.' It is certainly true that most of the novels and poems and plays which are praised nowadays by the highbrow reviews contain ideas and passages that are objectionable to the ordinary, plain citizen, as you call him. Ideas and passages that run counter to his inherited stock notions about religion and economics and social ethics. It was to equalize the profits among these works that the Bureau was originally planned.

"On the other hand there are many of us—like myself, for example—whose productions are what the highbrows rather nastily deride as 'mid-Victorian' or 'Puritanical.' They are either innocuously or aggressively moral. They have to be or else the magazines won't use them as serials, and there's too much money in that to pass up. But I ask you, was it fair that we should lose the advertising on that account—be punished for our very rectitude?"

"But how then——?" I confess I was mystified.

"How excite the eminent citizens in those cases? It seems like a difficulty, doesn't it? At first we made the same mistake ourselves. Several of us took pains to insert in forthcoming books brief passages that might serve as causes of offense—usually a bit of rhapsody on the subject of love, containing some reference to either Helen of Troy or Cleopatra. All eminent citizens have a deep antipathy to those two charming women of the olden time. A mere mention of either one would usually suffice. But later we found that we had been going to unnecessary trouble. The easier and more effective method was to select any passage—any one at all at random—and explain to the eminent citizens that it was chockful of lascivious symbolism. Of course they couldn't always quite see it themselves—though they used to try desperately hard—but then they didn't expect to be able to understand any passage of imaginative literature. They were quite ready to take the word of our committeeman for it and go ahead and prosecute."

"But why," I demanded, "is the Bureau going out of business if it has been so successful?"

"Ah!" said Mr. Rex Tarkington Churchill sadly, "that is one of the discouraging features of the advertising game. Any new method, however effective, wears itself out in time. We have had so many suppressions that people have lost interest and the newspapers will scarcely mention them. It no longer pays.

"However," he added, smiling cheerfully again, "it's hardly necessary any more. We have educated the public."

"Educated the public!"

"Exactly. You must surely be aware that ten years ago the American people neither bought nor read any books at all, practically speaking. But all that is changed, and simply as a result of the Bureau's activities. The people at large have learned that any book whatever may be naughty enough to be interesting, or may be considered so, which is just as good. And so they have become the most lavish patrons of literature of any public on earth—a nation of readers! The business of publishers and authors has been placed on a permanently secure foundation, and the Bureau can retire from the field, with the knowledge that its mission has been accomplished."

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Blood Tests for Russian Gold

By A. C. FREEMAN

THE tedium of dinners given by chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, and similar organizations is often relieved by fervent protests against the contamination of the United States Mint and Treasury by the admission of "bloodstained soviet gold." Judging from the speeches that are frequently delivered on such occasions, the average American business man would rather go bankrupt than accept a kopeck that might conceivably suggest a taint of gore. And we have often been compelled to admire the Spartan moral heroism of certain government officials who insist upon saving the souls of the Russian people by letting them starve rather than purchase food with gold upon which the French bondholders, the heirs of the Romanov family, or Ambassador Emeritus Bakhmetiev might have a prior claim.

Under these circumstances it is rather shattering to one's faith in human nature to discover that the American commercial and financial interests did not display any scruples about accepting large quantities of Russian gold from a government which was at once far more bloodstained and far less representative than the Soviet regime, as painted by its harshest critics. Yet such is undeniably the case. In the fall of 1918 the city of Kazan, where the Russian gold reserve was stored, was temporarily captured from the bolshevik forces by the Czecho-Slovaks, who were carrying out the orders of the French Government by attacking the Soviet Republic. The gold reserve, amounting to rather more than $325,000,000, was transferred first to Samara and then to Omsk, in western Siberia. When the directorate of liberals and moderate Socialists which had originally held power in Omsk was overthrown and supplanted by the dictatorship of Admiral Kolchak the gold reserve passed into his hands.

The Admiral, like other great men, was never properly appreciated in his own country. While full-page advertisements in the New York *Times* and other newspapers, which were just possibly paid for out of the mysterious funds at the disposal of that astute diplomat and financier, M. Bakhmetiev, assured the American people that Kolchak was the destined creator of a truly democratic Russia, his regime at home was, to say the least, rather tempestuous. It is just possible that a few brusque habits which the Admiral inherited from the Czarist tradition, such as shooting political opponents at sight and subjecting refractory peasants to mass floggings, had something to do with his difficulties of administration. At any rate his Humpty Dumpty government fell with a resounding crash in the winter of 1919-1920; and all the moral and material succor proffered by the Allies couldn't set it up again.

The Bolsheviki audited Kolchak's books very thoroughly and brought to light some interesting items. During his short term of office he made away with approximately $100,000,000. Entries in his accounts reveal payments of approximately $1,000,000 "to the American Government, for the purchase of rifles," of approximately $500,000 to the Remington Corporation for the same purpose, of about $500,000 to the Colt Company for machine-guns. He is also shown to have deposited some $40,000,000 as security for a loan from "an Anglo-American Syndicate." Important corroborative evidence on this point is contained in the following from the *Wall Street Journal*, of May 28, 1920:

> It was announced at the offices of J. P. Morgan and Company that they have received at San Francisco from Hongkong gold amounting to $22,000,000 for account of the British Government. The metal arrived in two shipments. One came by way of San Francisco amounting to $11,900,000 and the other by way of Seattle, amounting to $10,300,000.
>
> The fact that the recent shipment comes from Hongkong is causing no little discussion in the financial district.
>
> While no official information is obtainable on the subject it is believed that this $20,000,000 is a part of the gold put up by the Omsk [Russian] Government as collateral against the loan granted by American and British bankers last October. About $22,500,000 was advanced.

The arrival of the gold from Hongkong is also noted in the *Chase Economic Bulletin* of October 5, 1920.

Now it is extremely difficult to understand just how Kolchak was legally entitled to dispose of the Russian gold reserve, unless on the assumption that "findin's is keepin's." His Government in its most prosperous days could never have honestly claimed the allegiance of more than 10 per cent of the Russian people. By no stretch of the imagination could his regime be envisaged as representative of anything except the lust for power and plunder of a small group of Czarist officers and bureaucrats. The Admiral started out by summarily killing off a number of objectionable members of the Constituent Assembly, the very body for which the Allied statesmen are wont to profess such superstitious reverence.

Yet it does not appear that either the United States Government, or the Remington Company, or the Colt Company, or the well-known financiers who, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, were interested in the loan to the Omsk Government, evinced any scruples about accepting Kolchak's gold, soaked and saturated with blood and devoid of legal title as it unquestionably was. On the other hand our officials have always professed the most virtuous reluctance to accept any part of the same gold reserve, when it was offered by the Soviet Government. On January 1, 1921, Mr. Raymond T. Baker, Director of the Mint, assured the Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* that "when it can be determined that the gold is of Soviet origin, the mints and assay offices are closed to it." There is no evidence that the corporations which secured such rich pickings from the Kolchak regime experienced any similar difficulties in disposing of their winnings.

Mr. Hughes, in the letter to Mr. Gompers made public April 18, in which he takes so much pains to explain that Russia could not possibly possess anything to export, says that "no assurances can be given that Russian gold will be accepted by the Federal Reserve Banks or the Mint, in view of the fact that these public institutions must be fully assured that the legal title to the gold accepted by them is not open to question."

It would be interesting to know just what processes of moral chemistry are employed in determining the degree of blood-taint in Russian gold. On the basis of available information it would seem that a few drops from the veins of generals, aristocrats, and lords and ladies of high degree constitute a deep and ineradicable stain in the eyes of our democratic government. But, when it's a question of the blood of many thousands of workers, farmers, and plain folks generally—well, that is a very different matter, and one that can be much more easily overlooked.

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Immortal Youth[1]

By JOHN BASSETT MOORE

I HAVE referred to the life of the university as one of immortal youth. This necessarily implies that the university must be progressive. No man, no state, no nation can stand still and maintain its place in the world; nor does any man, any state, or any nation deserve to hold its place in the world that is content with what has been achieved. Mere contentment with the past, no matter where we find it, means decay; the so-called happiness that springs from placid satisfaction with things as they are, or from exaggerated worship of things as they have been, is essentially spurious and is not a blessing but an evil. Man was born to labor. For this purpose he possesses his faculties, and if he hides them or permits them to remain unused he justly incurs the sentence cast upon the unfaithful steward who lost not only the opportunity for profit but even his original store.

As perpetual vigilance is the price of liberty, so perpetual struggle for higher and better things is the price that must be paid for the immortality of the university. But, in striving for immortality, what are the things for which the university should stand before the world?

I have mentioned the word "liberty." Like all things else, this is a relative concept. All mundane things are subject to human conditions; and, in spite of all efforts to formulate precise definitions, we are never able to find one that is permanently satisfactory. Nevertheless, there is such a thing as liberty, of the absence of which, if we lack it, we very quickly become conscious. In its essence, liberty means freedom of self-development, and this freedom is to be allowed as far as the absolute safety of society will permit individuals to determine for themselves what they will or will not do. The university should, therefore, stand for liberty, meaning the widest possible individual freedom of thought and of action. By no statesman or philosopher has this principle been more luminously expounded or more clearly exemplified than by the founder of the University of Virginia. Perhaps one may say that if he had been called upon to designate the one great principle to the inculcation of which the institution which he had founded should through all future time be devoted, he would have designated the principle of human liberty.

This necessarily leads us to another thought, and that is the principle of toleration. Today we are living in a world still racked by the passions resulting from a great war. Human beings, instead of loving one another, have been fighting and killing one another. This is a condition into which the world, as long as we have known it, has from time to time fallen; and at such junctures, confidence being supplanted with suspicion, there is a tendency to regard differences of opinion as a menace and as something to be suppressed. We should ever be on our guard against this tendency, alike in society, in politics, and in religion. Today our eyes and ears are constantly assailed with wholesale attacks upon persons of a particular faith, attacks which, if not inspired by passionate excitement, would be regarded as purely wanton. Such things can only be deplored as manifestations of human traits which fortunately are exhibited chiefly under abnormal conditions.

In antithesis to the principle of toleration, I venture to mention another word which has come to be characterized by base associations. I refer to what is now popularly known as "propaganda," signifying in effect the systematic disseminations of falsehoods or perversions for political, commercial, or other selfish purposes. The world is today rife with this sort of activity, which is by no means confined to the perpetuation of bitterness by and between nations that lately were enemies. Stimulated by the war into abnormal activity, and now practiced more or less by all against all, it seeks, with frenzied and unscrupulous zeal, in an atmosphere of universal suspicion, to permeate all the relations of life and to create and foster ill-will among all nations, including even those supposed to be friendly. Scarcely can one attend today a gathering for the discussion of public questions without being treated to the pernicious productions of this vicious system, which, finding their way into the press and into books ostensibly genuine, are glibly rehearsed by persons whose position and profession should cause them to exhibit a greater sense of care and of responsibility. A university, as a seat of learning, should set its face against such methods. One of the chief glories of the university is the fact that it is a place devoted to the search for truth. . . . .

The word propaganda has, however, been associated in times past with a type of thought and of action altogether different from that which has lately made it repulsive. Some years ago, in the city of Buenos Aires, I saw a volume which one could not touch without feeling deeply moved. It was a copy of a translation of the Bible, into a dialect of the Misiones territory, by some of the Fathers, agents of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, who bore Christianity to the aborigines of that then remote and almost impenetrable region. Not only did they make the translation, but they printed it in the wilderness at a place even the site of which is today unknown. This they did to save men. In their holy zeal to carry salvation, according to their belief, to unknown lands, they shrank neither from peril nor from sacrifice. As we think of their helpless separation from the haunts of civilized life, of their self-denial and their days and nights of solitary toil, we are lost in admiration of the men who wrought such a token of their faith and of their love for their fellow-beings. Could there be a more inspiring example for those who accept a teacher's sacred trust? . . .

In the ceaseless, endless flow of its intellectual and moral influence, the university both conserves and creates. Tennyson spoke of his generation as "the heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time." In a sense no saying could be more fallacious or more misleading. As he who would be first in the Kingdom of Heaven must become the servant of all, so the first requisite of knowledge is a spirit of humility, such as renders us willing to learn. The potentialities of heirship are severely limited by human conditions. We all begin life in the same helpless way, dependent on others for existence and physically and mentally groping about. But, as we grow older, and become more self-conscious, we are perhaps not over-respectful of the wisdom of the aged. Indeed, even if it be liberally conceded that we know the causes that previously produced certain ill effects, we are disposed to believe that their similar operation may be averted in the present instance; and, obedient to our possibly uninstructed impulses, we proceed to try our own conceptions of what is wise and expedient. The assumption, then, that we are the heirs of all the ages, representing the farthest human advance, should not be unduly encouraged. Such an attitude is essentially hazardous, and, if inadvertently indulged, tends recurrently to subject the world to the loss of a large part of its garnered treasures.

For the prevention of such loss, we look to our seats of learning. While the university conserves the teachings of the past, it also uses them for the profit of posterity. In its quiet halls of study and reflection, overconfidence is chastened, so that uninformed aggressiveness may neither mar the present nor embarrass the future. The impulses of youth are refined and widely directed. The mind is fertilized. Ideals are raised. Ambition is stimulated; and in endless train there issues from the gates the eager procession of intelligent builders by whom human institutions are competently fashioned. Society and the state are the gainers; life itself is dignified and ennobled. Rejoicing, then, in our university as the perpetual dispenser of priceless benefits, let us strive to maintain and strengthen it with all the resources at our command, placing above its portals the words, "Conserver of the Past, Creator of the Future."

[1] From an address delivered for the University of Virginia on its hundredth anniversary celebrated at Charlottesville, Va., June 2.

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Is the Black Horror on the Rhine Fact or Propaganda?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am quite satisfied, now, that you published my letter, although I did not intend it for publication. You gave wide publicity to my protest against what I and many fellow-Americans regard as the crowning outrage of the war, an outrage which most certainly will dreadfully avenge itself in Europe's next war, especially if the outrage should be continued. And it seems that France is fully determined that it shall continue, perhaps for fifteen years to come, and that England will complacently and contentedly look on.

While I thank the editor of *The Nation* for publishing my letter, I do not thank him for the caption A Hymn of Hate. My letter was not intended to be, nor was it, an expression of hate, at least not of hate of persons. I repeat here the words of a distinguished American clergyman: "It is not the color of the troops that we protest against, it is the color of the crime. And the crime is black as hell."

It is thoroughly Christian to hate and in strong language to inveigh against and denounce crime and outrage, and it is un-Christian not to hate it.

The only line in my letter which under any form of interpretation could be construed as expressing hate of persons was this: "In the next war God pity France—and *England!*" The words were intended as a prediction, a prophecy, and a solemn warning, or rather as a suggestion that *The Nation* might, editorially and otherwise, raise its voice in earnest warning.

The Nation would serve the cause of civilization and of future peace much better by warning the perpetrators and abetters of the Outrage on the Rhine than by encouraging them in their mad course of revenge by cloaking and palliating their crime.

New York, June 10 F. P. WILHELM

[*The Nation* has neither palliated nor cloaked the so-called Horror on the Rhine, but its investigation, made wholly without prejudice, has brought conviction that the facts by no means warrant the wild exaggerations which have been given currency and that despite Mr. Wilhelm's statement to the contrary the emphasis on the color of the occupying troops has been mistaken and un-Christian. The appended comment of two German newspapers which we reprint herewith is pertinent and should be enlightening.]

THE BLACK HORROR

[From *Der Kampf*, Munich]

From Speyer we receive the following communication dated April 26:

On my return from Munich, I must look around to see if I am really in occupied territory, for here I look in vain for what I saw in the Imperial Theater under the title of The Black Horror. And this is not the only place. In Ludwigshafen, Mainz, Worms, etc., you search in vain for the conditions exposed in that film. It seems to show that the "Socialist" Deputies, like Klement of Kaiserslautern and Körner of Ludwigshafen, oppose the licensing of this film because they must know that the things shown in it belong to the realm of imagination and are only produced in order to arouse popular feeling and to stir up passion and the spirit of revenge.

What I saw with my own eyes in Speyer—white women around 9 o'clock in the evening in a side street in the vicinity of Altgürtel, joking with black soldiers, eating chocolate, and doing even more than that—certainly does not look like the acts of violence of the black troops. The fact that three women sneak into the guard-house to sleep with the black guards is certainly not the fault of the occupying troops, still less of the occupation authorities.

The Hon. Deputies must also know that the black troops are very severely punished for any assaults upon white women, and that in such cases German officials are always called in to the trial. I learned that the hotel-keepers in Wiesbaden asked the press owners to give the facts and to show the falsity of the rumors that are being spread about the black troops, so that business will not be ruined by these lies.

As for the brothels, I shall tell you what I observed myself from visiting one of these places. The entrance to such a house is enough to convince you that you won't find women who are brought there by cunning and force. Any woman is free to leave at will. The behavior of these women would fill you with shame and disgust. Ten or twelve of them stand at the entrance, in their brothel clothes, for selection. When you go into the drinking-places you see these women sitting on the laps of the blacks, kissing them passionately. A guard with six men is stationed to keep order, and if anyone should take too much liberty he is thrown out or even arrested and punished. And they see to it that the military authorities do their duty.

I have been informed that in Ludwigshafen there were three times as many women as were needed at the brothel when it opened. A war-widow, mother of four children, was among them. But you must not think that all these women have come here for their own amusement. Most of them have been driven to it by poverty, unemployment, and the terrible increase in the cost of living. In this respect the Government has completely broken down. The women who worked in the factories during the war were turned out onto the streets as soon as their employment no longer brought profits to the war lords, and then they realized where they stood. It is all the same to the Government whether they go into the brothel or meet their fate on the streets.

THE BLACK HORROR, A BAD BUSINESS!

[From *Rote Fahne*, Berlin]

Nationalist hatred reaches its highest pitch with the threatening occupation of the Ruhr. Especially the "black horror" is used to stir up the unenlightened chauvinist workers in White-guard Germany. Phantastic descriptions of excited old maids relating to the horror of the French occupation are being spread as actual facts. Even a German "Kultur Propaganda Film" is being shown, in which each white woman and each growing girl is forcibly seized by Negroes in French pay and violently enticed into a brothel. In Berlin and elsewhere extravagantly financed protest meetings of German people are held against "race destruction," and even official places such as the medical chambers are spreading inflammatory protests in the medical and daily press and give grossly exaggerated accounts of violent attacks of Negroes upon unprotected German women. Of course, outrages by young men in the French or English "garb of honor" may occur. Such things will happen as long as militarism sends young men into foreign lands against their will for the sake of conquest.

Has anyone heard a word of indignation from the bourgeois world about the fact that in the fight of January, 1919, against the Berlin workers black "volunteers" and even black officers in Noske's white troops helped slaughter German workers? Has the armed German Nationalist ever been ashamed of his brotherhood-in-arms with the South Africans?

In the Rhineland the Moroccan troops, which are considered colored, have a racial origin very similar to that of the Turks, "Germany's good ally in the World War." Furthermore, one often reads of French soldiers getting 3 to 8 years in the house of correction for rape—penalties which were never inflicted by the German war court for such crimes during the German occupation in Belgium, France, Poland, etc., but only for disobedience to superior officers.

Particularly does it ill become the German medical organizations to drag in indignation and humanity, after they looked upon similar crimes of German militarism in half of Europe for four and a half years without raising a protest, and even aided in denying the notorious crimes of their own undisciplined soldiers in the celebrated explanation of the ninety-three professors and eminent scholars.

It is now evident, however, that all this protest and clamor is already becoming disagreeable to the Nationalists themselves. Now the Rhine business people are complaining about the poor patronage of visitors to the hotels and health resorts on the Rhine because, as a result of the extreme anxiety the right-bank Germans shun the Rhineland; also these protesting medical circles put themselves in the position of mouthpieces of the health resorts and bathing-beaches of the Rhineland to prevent their business from coming utterly to a standstill. We quote such an article from the *Berlin Medical Correspondence* of April 30, 1921:

"Health Resorts in Occupied Rhineland

"In order to acquaint the German physicians with the conditions existing in the health resorts of the occupied Rhineland, the

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central committee for medical students' trips organized a student trip which, from April 9 to 17, covered the following places: Aachen, Godesberg, Neuenahr, Ems, Wiesbaden, Langenschwalbach, Schlanbach, Soden, Kreuznach, and Munster a. Stein. As a result of this trip the undersigned leaders, in agreement with all those who took part in the journey, came to the following conclusions:

"'The identity certificates provided by the police did not have to be shown once. The fact of the occupation was noticeable only by the sight of foreign soldiers. These and the Germans pass each other silently. The discomfort falls upon the local residents, and does not affect visitors at all.

"'Everywhere the health resorts are equipped to the highest pre-war capacity. There is nothing apparent which might prevent a doctor from recommending invalids to visit these health resorts. Duty to suffering countrymen in the occupied territory demands visits from the rest of Germany. We doctors have also a duty to our colleagues.

"'German Central Committee for Medical Student Trips:

"'PROF. DR. DIETRICH, Acting Privy Counselor, Retired General Staff Physician of the Imperial Navy,

"'PROF. DR. LENNHOF, Chief Government Medical Counsel.'"

What a noteworthy contrast in this quiet liberal-mindedness to the chauvinist outcries of the medical chambers and to the mad films of hate! It is noteworthy that the Negroes attack only "resident" young ladies, while they "pass silently by" the ladies who have come to the right bank health resorts!

The chauvinist criers and business propagandists are not on the best of terms with each other—one needs the "black horror" for political reasons, while it spoils the business of the other. What is owl to one is nightingale to the other.

Now contrast with these measured statements from *German newspapers published and circulated in Germany* the following from the Extra Supplement of the Overseas Edition of the *Hamburger Nachrichten*—printed in parallel columns in German and English and *circulated widely and chiefly in the United States*. The entire issue is devoted to the same sort of propaganda.

THE BLACKEST CRIME IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY

One name in the history of the world has become a byword and typical of cowardly sadistic cruelty: the name of Nero. Lucius Domitius Nero, Roman Emperor, who ordered innocent Christians to be thrown to the wild beasts and thus indulged his perverted lust by the sight of living, quivering human bodies being torn to pieces. As a monster in human shape he continues to live in the memory of mankind, and nobody when speaking of orgies of bestial madness could cite a bolder example than Lucius Domitius Nero.

The privilege to surpass even his madness, has been bestowed on our times. Everything which the morbid brain of that scoundrel ever concocted must pale before the deeds which a whole nation—to wit, "La Grande Nation"—is allowed to perpetrate with impunity on the whole white race. The "Black Disgrace in the Rhineland" will henceforth be in history the signal example of abysmal depth of human depravity. The blackest crime in history!

We do not exaggerate when we speak of a whole nation of sadists. For it is the French nation, which appoints and delegates the emissaries who flood according to a well-devised devilish plan the Rhineland with Niggers and Moroccans; and what these brutes perpetrate on the white race is sanctioned and excused by the functionaries of the French nation and public opinion in France, because it was intended to be carried out. . . .

The American lady, Miss Ray Beveridge, calls on the men to take justice into their own hands: Your weapons have been taken away from you, but there still remains a rope and a tree. Take up the natural arms which our men in the South resort to: lynch! Hang every black who assaults a white person! Then let the world decide whether you or the French were in the right. And if you die as martyrs you die as heroes. . . .

. . . It is incumbent on all to spread the knowledge of these horrors all over the world wherever white people live, especially among those whose own vital interests demand check to this bestiality. And these nations are foremost of all the English and the Americans.

In the Driftway

TO most of us humans there is something about the art or trade of painting that makes us want to dabble in it. The Drifter is not thinking at the moment of the so-called higher forms of painting—of landscapes or portraits, of cubist or futurist imaginings. He is thinking of the delectable and irresistible occupation of "painting around the house." Admittedly there is drudgery in applying just one kind of paint—especially in a broiling sun—to a large expanse of blank wall, but there is joy in attacking even so big a surface as a ship's side when one can do it swung out on a ladder a few feet from the rippling water, with the ship swinging easily at anchor, a jolly breeze singing by, and a clear blue sky overhead. Thus the Drifter, in many ports, has enjoyed laying on the red top-booting of that part of a ship's carcass that normally is supposed to be under water, or with a long-handled wide-sweeping brush smearing black on the upper hull.

* * * * *

BEST of all, of course, is swinging in a bo'sn's chair, far above the deck, painting masts and spars. The Drifter remembers one mishap in this connection which he thinks of and relates, even to this day, with a flush of shame. He had just joined the crew of a little square-rigger, lying in the panoramic harbor of Sydney, New South Wales, loading for New Zealand. The mate sent the Drifter aloft with a bucket of yellow paint to apply to the main yard. As usual, the mate gave the Drifter a bucket with a short strand attached to the handle by which to make it fast aloft. The Drifter tries to believe that the mate was at fault for providing a rotten cord; he is not quite positive, though, that this is just. Anyhow, while the Drifter, comfortably settled aloft, was paying more attention to the glories of Newcastle harbor than to his painting, the bucket was revolving round and round, and presently the distraught cord snapped and down went the bucket of yellow paint on top of the captain's cabin which had just been anointed with a snowy white. The Drifter spent the next two days with a bottle of turpentine and a cloth cleaning the cabin and the deck.

* * * * *

BUT all this is not what the Drifter started to say at all. He started to write about "painting around the house," and was led off by the mention of a blank wall to the thought of a ship's side, and thus to Newcastle, New South Wales, and a period 150 years ago, when he was drifting more, and talking less, than now. What started the original thought of "painting around the house" was a newspaper item from Jamaica, Long Island. It told how a man there had bought a house and hired a painter to decorate it throughout. After a few weeks, noticing that no work had been done, the householder made inquiries. It turned out that the contractor had painted a house a block away by mistake! The other man may not have got the color he would have liked, but he got considerable white lead—or whatever they put into paint these days—for nothing. Even when one does his own painting, he does not always get the color he wants. The Drifter remembers that once after moving into a new eyrie he decided to paint it a modest cream-white. He had no time by day, and so mixed his paint and daubed it on by night, staying up until 3 a. m. When he contemplated the job next morning it was a canary yellow.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

The Real Crisis in France

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the editorial with the above title in your issue of June 8 you say: "By an arrangement with the *Rente* section of the Bourse and the Government no French *rentes* can be sold legally except through the Bourse." That is so, but it is not all. The amount of *Rente* that can be sold at one time is limited to a very small quantity. I forget the exact quantity and have no reference at hand, but I know that it took an acquaintance of mine about six months to sell 15,000 francs of War Loans. But for this juggling on the part of the French Government, the prices of *Rente* would fall to such an extent that the real state of the French national finances would become apparent to the world. The prices now quoted on the Paris Bourse are, as you say, artificially rigged. The system nearly approaches fraud.

In my opinion it is not to the real interest of France that the present dishonest financial methods of her rulers should be encouraged by any further loans. If people in the United States are being induced to invest in the new loan by the representation that the foreign debt of France is decreasing, they should be able to recover their money on the ground that it has been obtained on false pretenses. The sooner the French people are forced to face facts, the better for them and for everybody else. I have been saying persistently for the last three or four years that France would sooner or later be compelled to repudiate her national debt—if not in name, at least in fact—and I am more convinced of it than ever. France is insolvent and the best thing she can do is to go through the bankruptcy court.

Perhaps you are mistaken in attributing the failure of the tax on business turnover to evasions. I should say that it is rather due to the disastrous effect of the tax on trade, which was already bad enough in France, as everywhere else in Europe. The yield of this tax fell in May to the lowest on record—146,632,000 francs, the original budget estimate for the month having been 415,666,500 francs. The Minister of Finance has tried to conceal the enormous deficit in the yield of this tax and of the indirect taxes generally by issuing "revised" estimates. The revised estimate of the tax on turnover for May was 241,666,500 francs, but the yield, as will be seen, has fallen far short even of that. The total receipts from indirect taxation and state monopolies in May were 1,004,080,000 francs, exceeding those of May, 1920, by only 146,985,500 francs, in spite of the new tax on turnover (which did not exist in May, 1920) and of heavy increases in all or nearly all the other taxes. Indirect taxation has been carried to such lengths in France that it is drying up the sources of supply and nullifying itself. The more the indirect taxes are increased, the less they produce. There is now a strong demand from French business men for the abolition of the mischievous tax on turnover and sales. The Minister of Finance dares not listen to it, for he dares not impose a genuine income tax on the rich. But he will probably be obliged to listen to the demand that the scandalous exemption of agricultural turn-over from the tax shall cease.

The fact cannot be blinked that the present financial situation of France is due to the selfishness and avarice of the wealthy bourgeoisie and the peasant farmers. They refused to pay adequate taxation during the war and they are still refusing to pay it, although their country is on the verge of bankruptcy. Nearly all the taxation of the country has been shunted on to the least prosperous part of the urban population—the professional man, the small bourgeois, and the workman. For most of the taxation is indirect and it is on them that the burden of indirect taxation mainly falls. Naturally their backs are breaking under the burden and the whole system is collapsing. Yet in May, whereas the taxes on necessities showed a deficit, the luxury tax yielded about 32 per cent more than the revised budget estimate for the month and the receipts from state monopolies (chiefly tobacco) exceeded the revised estimate by about 18 per cent. These facts show that, even in a period of acute industrial depression, there are still people in France with plenty of money to spend. Indeed, everybody agrees that never has such ostentatious and vulgar luxury been flaunted in Paris. Unhappily, the people able to afford such luxury are the real rulers of France and its nominal rulers are their puppets. The government of France is not a democracy; it is one of the most corrupt oligarchies in history. Anatole France has given the key to the understanding of the present situation in "L'Ile des Pingouins."

Geneva, June 13, 1921 ROBERT DELL

Our Major Parties and Disarmament

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is hoped that the advocates of disarmament will not be deceived by the superficial attempts of the Harding Administration to demonstrate that it is sympathetic with them. Whatever platitudes the Harding Administration may throw out for public consumption in favor of "ultimate" disarmament, it is, nevertheless, committed to an imperialistic policy which demands a huge military and naval establishment.

Secretary of the Navy Denby has frankly demanded a supernavy; Secretary of War Weeks has stated with equal frankness that it would be suicidal to talk of disarmament at the present time; Secretary of Commerce Hoover has already come out for a world-wide development of our foreign trade which, in its practical application, means imperialism.

The momentary joy of the disarmament advocates in the passage of the Borah amendment to the Naval Appropriation Bill is already recognized as a victory for the Harding Administration. The Naval Appropriation Bill was an administration measure, and there was, of course, an enormous majority in Congress behind it. The only danger they ran was through filibustering tactics on the part of the minority, to meet which they might have had to cut down their appropriations somewhat.

When Senator Borah offered his amendment directing the President to call a conference with England and Japan to consider international disarmament, the Administration saw its chance. It made a pretense of opposing this amendment and then gracefully withdrew its opposition after having extracted from Senator Borah and his associates an agreement that they would not filibuster against the bill itself.

The result was exactly as might have been expected. By a vote of 2 to 1 the Senate has raised the House recommendation of 100,000 men to 120,000, and added $42,500,000 to the appropriation. Of course, the Borah amendment went through by a unanimous vote. The minority voted for it because they wanted it; the majority did so because it had been made an administration measure and to some extent tended to secure for Mr. Harding an undeserved popularity among those unfamiliar with political trickery. Then in order to rob the disarmament group of what little satisfaction remained to it, the Harding Administration built up a backfire in the House, where the majority are now demanding that the Borah amendment be left entirely to the discretion of the President. On top of this the Senate has amended the Army Bill increasing the army from 150,000 to 170,000 men and adding $11,000,000 to the appropriation.

Just so long as the banking group enjoys the enormous influx of capital which flows in to it through its control of our transportation system and our natural resources, it will also control our national credit; just so long as it controls our credit, it will dictate our appropriations and expenditures; and just so long as it dictates our appropriations, it will tax the public for the purpose of guaranteeing its investments in foreign countries. This can only be accomplished through its control of the Republican and Democratic Parties and it must be quite evident to every thinking man that to expect that an entire reversal of this policy can be brought about through the subservient representatives of these same parties is like expecting water to run up hill.

New York, June 30 J. A. H. HOPKINS

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Christian Science and Truth-Seeking

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I shall be obliged for the privilege of commenting upon an article in *The Nation* of May 4 relative to the withdrawal from circulation by G. P. Putnam's Sons of a book containing an undignified and unwarranted article relative to the Christian Science textbook and its author. You fail to note that the article in question was withdrawn as soon as it was read by the responsible members of that well-known firm. Concerning the incident Mr. Irving Putnam has written: "Our first attention was drawn to the Riley article by a call from Mr. Gilmore. The present writer, not having read the article, asked Mr. Gilmore to return to his office and put into formal shape his objection to the article. Then for the first time the article was read by Mr. G. H. Putnam and by Mr. Irving Putnam. We were both shocked not only at the offensive personal allusions but at the outrageous tone of ridicule and worse that permeated the article." Many will believe that what you term "free discussion" may not justifiably include ridicule, vituperation, and falsification concerning so serious a question as the character of a good and true woman, and religious teachings espoused by a considerable body of earnest citizens.

New York, May 20 ALBERT F. GILMORE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The value of the Christian Science Church's outraged protest at being supposed to wish anything but the truth, as voiced by Mr. F. E. Morgan in your issue of June 1, may be gauged by an experience of mine a few years ago. I had written for an encyclopedia a sketch of Mrs. Eddy, which was passed by the church officials after they had stricken out everything relevant to an understanding of her or the system. But my appended bibliography included (without comment) Georgine Milmine's "Life of Mrs. Eddy." Now, this is notoriously the only one ever published worth calling a biography. It is based on long and amazingly thorough research for *McClure's*, with such minute care for the truth of every detail, to balk the colossal libel suit eagerly held waiting to wipe the book and the magazine out of being, that not an item was ever shown to be inaccurate. It was mostly written in a lawyer's office, and very many facts of the highest value were dropped as not legally sustainable. The church authorities threatened, directly or virtually, to boycott the encyclopedia if the book were so much as mentioned; and the publishers took it out. One of the Christian Science agents afterward told me they did not recognize the book as a biography! My experience is that the church is like every other institution, political, social, or religious: that it will suppress all truth not in its favor if it has power, and tolerate what it must.

New York, June 8 M. F.

[American publishers could furnish much evidence of this sort if they cared to. M. F. is known to us, as are the details of this particular incident of suppression.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Contributors to This Issue

ALBERT DE SILVER is a director of the Civil Liberties Union.

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Books

Christianity in the Modern World

Christianity in Its Modern Expression. By G. B. Foster. The Macmillan Company.

Jesus and Paul. By B. W. Bacon. The Macmillan Company.

What Christianity Means to Me. By Lyman Abbott. The Macmillan Company.

A Religion for the New Day. By C. F. Dole. B. W. Huebsch.

The Untried Door. By Richard Roberts. The Woman's Press.

FROM this group of authors one might reasonably expect to get a composite picture of Christianity in the modern world. Two of them are theological professors long classified on the Left of the intellectual movement of their respective denominations. Two of them are life-long "liberal" preachers, one orthodox and the other unorthodox. The fifth, of the younger generation, has put the mark of his preaching, with voice and pen, on the mind and heart of both Great Britain and the United States.

But the expectation fails of realization. The impressions do not blend. There is more contrast than harmony. With modifications, of course, for some of the authors, and for all of them at certain points, one feels in regard to the vital questions confronting mankind the same uncertainty, one senses the same silences and omissions, that characterize the other intellectual aspects of this middle-class period that is now coming to its end. The point is, perhaps, that it is necessarily Christianity *in* the modern world that now speaks to us, and not Christianity facing the modern world with counsel concerning a way of life.

Also these writings as a group, and they probably represent the proportion of the respective elements in current organized Christianity, are much more history than prophecy. The first three of them will be read in the world now making as records of the thinking of another day, and for this purpose they have worth. One reads them with a curious sense of distance, for it is a long journey, intellectually and morally, to the pre-war world; and it is still further travel to the mental attitude and religious outlook that were developed during the slavery struggle and the post-civil war period in this country. These men were fighting to free their minds from the cold, clamping grip of the dead hand of orthodoxy. Valiantly they fought and the fruits of their victory are ours. But the center of religious gravity has shifted. The fighting issues for Christianity are now in the sphere of moral action, not in the realm of intellectual interpretation. What do those who are busy lighting fires for the preachers who declare judgment on the twelve-hour day, who proclaim that industrial democracy is a step toward the Christian ideal of life, and who insist upon inquiring into the moral function of property and the spiritual worth of capitalism, care what G. B. Foster thought about the Virgin Birth, Lyman Abbott about the Atonement, or B. W. Bacon about the author of the Fourth Gospel?

These are important matters, but after all they are not issues of life and death, and just now the world has business of that sort on hand. The fact is that what these authors give us (and in this matter C. F. Dole belongs with them) is Christianity of the intellectuals, by the intellectuals, and for the intellectuals. It is not simply that they are steeped in the Hellenist tradition and trained in the philosophical method—Christianity cannot get along without philosophers—but there is a vast difference between the intellectual aristocracy of Plato and Socrates learning horse sense from the leather workers of his trade. In aloofness from the living and working conditions and consequently the moral and spiritual struggle of millions of their fellows these Christian teachers are Brahmins. One cannot imagine miners, farmers, railroad men, politicians, merchants, manufacturers, financiers, engineers, social workers in any numbers reading such books. If it be urged that these books are not for such, but for the preachers who will translate them

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for popular consumption, then let it be asked how many of the common people who gladly heard a carpenter turned teacher who talked to them about the Way of Life here and hereafter, are flocking to hear the preaching of modern and modernized pulpits.

The intellectuals who are troubled about the interpretation of Christianity in a scientific age will find much help from these books. Also much of the matter they cover is of perennial concern to the plain people. Men lettered and unlettered are always wrestling intellectually as well as practically with the problem of sin, with the question of God and man's relation to him, but the approach to the problems, and the answer, lies in the sphere of the moral experience and not in the realm of reason. It is the function of reason to state and restate the answer as moral experience continually finds it in expanding form, which means of course that reason aids in the search by bringing light from the partial answers of the past. Just now the world is finding a new moral experience in and through necessary changes in social organization. It is a day for action —as for instance, the Russian dogmatists are finding out; later will come the day for rationalizing about the experience. Hence the major business of Christianity just now is to point out at least the general course of action required by its fundamental principles. Whether it be reconstruction or revolution (one cannot escape the hackneyed terms) something of the sort is on foot and cannot be avoided. Has Christianity anything to say about it? Has it any help for a world in such a pass?

It is at this point that one feels the three books mentioned to be of the past more than of the present, let alone the future. Mr. Foster (it was little service to his memory to publish bald class-room lecture outlines, filled in with presumably student notes) gives just about twice as much space to Christian Dogmatics as to Christian Ethics, and to the economic life just three pages. While this part of the work is unfinished, yet it is other topics that are mentioned as untreated. Individual Christian Ethics is formally separated from Social Christian Ethics as though Christian Personality or Christian Character could be either psychologically or practically anything apart from sex relations or the associations of economic and political activity, or any and all of the other associated functions in and through which the individual has his being.

Mr. Bacon has added not a little to our knowledge of the nature and authorship and meaning of the documentary sources of the New Testament. But supposing that Paul's influence is dominant in Mark and in the Fourth Gospel, granting that a philosophical statement of the life and work of Jesus was needed to supplement the ethical point of view of the emphasis upon the Kingdom and to avert its tendency toward legalism, how much does it help our generation to conclude that "Jesus and Paul are champions of the only gospel that has real promise for our struggling world? But we must see Jesus as Paul saw him, the embodiment of an eternal agency of the redeeming God." What "our struggling world" wants to know is what Paul told his generation, how this Jesus can bring the redemption of God into this present situation.

Mr. Bacon is "persuaded as a rational student of the history of civilization of the preeminent value of Christianity as a force operative in the social organism." He thinks that Paul's emphasis upon the reconciliation of the individual to God was vital as a counterbalance to the Kingdom teaching, because "individualization is universalization." But certainly not without organization; and in a world that must socially organize its best individual morality or presently fall apart in ruins, a people bred in pioneer individualism and trained in Pauline theology, individualistically interpreted, need now not so much the note of mystic philosophic theology which Mr. Bacon claims as Paul's highest contribution through the Ephesian evangelist, but the "human winsomeness" of the synoptic Jesus and the social ethics of the Kingdom teaching whose preservation over against the emphasis of Paul meant, as Mr. Bacon earlier admits quoting from Dr. Morgan, "nothing less than the saving of Christianity."

Lyman Abbott sums up sixty years of Christian experience and interpretation on his eighty-fifth birthday in a discussion of the vital doctrines of the Christian religion, which contains only a brief statement of the philanthropic and reform aspects of Christianity and a very general definition of the Kingdom on earth, in terms of its spirit, but not its content. Where there is exposition one occasionally gets the impression that the term Christianity has been uncritically used to cover all that is good in the world, as it is for the set in which the writer moves. But in the summary it appears that Christianity means first of all "a new spirit of love, service, and sacrifice in humanity" and "a new and ever developing life in art, literature, music, philosophy, government, industry, worship." However, there is no effort to find what this new spirit and this new life will mean in the foundations of government and industry. Perhaps this is too much to expect here, but those who must preach to this generation may profitably inquire why one who went thus far in the social interpretation and application of Christianity should have stopped at this point.

Mr. Dole does not stop anywhere. He is concerned not with what Christianity means but with what religion must be and do in this new day. He is convinced of the failure of organized religion. He therefore avoids even the term God until late in the volume. The religious life is conceived as spiritual evolution, the development of an experience. The Summum Bonum Infinite is Good-will and men must educate themselves in good-will that they may add "willing minds to the Good Will of the Universe." Thus they will come to know God, whose reality, like that of eternal life, is to be found through social experience. Such a religion will prove itself by overcoming evil with good instead of fighting it with force, by organizing industry, government, and the world order as a democratic process. Because it is democratic, religion will be a universal experience. "What if we are about to find that the consciousness of social usefulness is a precious experience of religion?" Here is a brave attempt to understand both religion and the new day that at several important points blazes the trail where presently many will follow. But those who build that highway for men and God to walk together on their common task will come of a generation to whom it is natural to think in social terms. Mr. Dole has tried hard, and has succeeded more than could most men of the New England tradition, but when it comes to the basic economic problem he cannot escape from the inherited and ingrained individualism of his time and place. He believes that the efficient and honest workman will always find justice from the employer. He sees that big scale business has changed human relationships. He gives no evidence of seeing that production for the sake of finance has also changed the moral nature of economic organization, that this change has raised the fundamental question not of the kind of relations between employer and employed, owner and worker, but of the essential nature of that relationship. This is one of the biggest problems that the new day has brought to religion. It involves the whole question of property which Mr. Dole has not discussed. And the religion that helps men here will need to have something more than sweetness and light, which are now the outstanding qualities of religious teachers, old and new. It will need the passion that stirs men to struggle and sacrifice.

In the work of Richard Roberts this note sounds. He, too, is facing the future. The Christian moral order is the goal of his search; he, too, is interested in theology and New Testament criticism; but being Welsh, he cannot help being a bit of a mystic, so that there is a warmth and color in his book which is a grateful contrast to the New England austerity that has given us most of our theology, but not much of what religion we have.

The real difference between this book and the others is that Mr. Roberts is of another generation and he knows the world of today by actual contact with the forces that are making it. His acquaintance with the British Labor Movement gives him great advantage in dealing with the practical issues that confront Christianity. When he discusses the applicability of the thought

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of Jesus to modern life, he does not have to take refuge in the abstractions and generalizations beloved of the preacher, but he bites into life hard and deep. The power of this discussion, however, lies in its combination of the inner and outer elements of religion, or, better still, its elimination of that false distinction between the spiritual and the practical which has come near to wrecking our religion and ruining our world. The religion of the new life avoids alike the externality which is cursing our highly organized, business-like churchianity and the footless futility of the so-called spiritually minded who hold themselves aloof from the sweating, cursing, fighting ruck of life.

Mr. Roberts knows that the new life that the world needs is born of a faith "which is the will to face life on the assumption that God is love," that it grows by fellowship with the unseen, in childlike simplicity of mind and purpose, but he sees also that this new life means a new moral and social order, which is a big practical job involving just now some fundamental changes in the institutions of property and government. He sees what the other writers have not so clearly seen: that the root of Jesus's ethics derives from the circumstance of human solidarity and is a "doctrine of human interests that are always in fact identical"; that against our view of the individual as an individual Jesus views the individual as a social being. Therefore "at last morality is the art of fellowship." But the world is organized on the basis of a conflict of interests between the individual and the group, and between groups. Therefore its ethics is mostly "a doctrine of rights that are self-regarding." How then shall mankind be shown its identity of real interests and be brought to solidarity? Here is the need of modern life and the task of Christianity.

The new life requires, as Mr. Roberts points out, the development of a technique. Yet he affirms that the new order will grow spontaneously out of the new life. But will it? Is not this a failure to carry through the "organic" ethics claimed for Jesus, to maintain the identity of the individual and the group? Does not the new order, being the growth of new life in the group, require also the development of a technique? And is not this the essential problem of the modern world—how to organize for identity of interests, how to embody the ethics of solidarity? The facts of modern life, as well as our inmost longings, require that we find some unifying purpose for our economic life and for our now separate governments. It is a matter of dynamics: Where is the power coming from? It is a matter of mechanics: How is the power to be applied to the necessary task? Concerning this central problem of social organization, Christianity has yet to find its message.

HARRY F. WARD

Borneo

Through Central Borneo. By Carl Lumholtz. Charles Scribner's Sons. 2 vols.

BORNEO being the second largest island in the world, excepting Greenland, it is not strange that great areas of the central portion have not been explored. Add to ordinary obstacles a climate rainy and hot—the Equator crosses the island almost in the middle—a thick forest spreading everywhere, even over the tops of the mountains, and the usual tropical accompaniment of snakes, with ants and other annoyances of the insect world, and the reasons why explorers have not been attracted to the interior are plain. Then there are the "Wild Men of Borneo" and the "Head-Hunters," famous in song and story, to act as bogies. On the other hand, there are large rivers navigable for craft of some size for several hundred miles up from their mouths, and available for small boat travel on their upper reaches, notwithstanding very rough and rapid water in places. Mr. Lumholtz after two years' journeying in the island, much of the time in its wildest part, declares that the "climate is quite pleasant" and has words of praise for the "wild men" and the head-hunters. But he is an experienced and seasoned explorer, with a quiet, courteous way of approaching natives that would charm even a head-hunter.

An entire chapter is devoted to this subject of Head Hunting—Its Practice and Purpose, and to the ethnologist this chapter is particularly important. The heads of white people do not count in the head-hunting game, it seems; so the reader need not hesitate to "see Borneo first" for fear of leaving his own head as a decoration in a native hut. In playing the game the warriors have no consideration for age or sex, and think it quite honorable to take the heads of even defenseless children. Yet the natives, Mr. Lumholtz declares, are agreeable to deal with. The Dayaks, who are the head-hunters of the first rank, "are honest, trustworthy, and hospitable." The Dutch Government is trying to eradicate head-hunting, and in time will doubtless succeed, but even where the practice is waning, the songs connected with it persist. He found the long blow-gun, there called *sumpitan* (similar to the South American one), in common use, with poisoned darts as in other regions.

The painstaking examination Mr. Lumholtz bestowed on the island was confined to the south and east. His main line of travel was up the Barito River from its mouth to a region not quite one degree north of the Equator on the 114th meridian east thence east to the 115th, and southeast down the Mahakam, or Kutei, River to the sea at Samarinda. Another route was up the Kayan River from the mouth to about longitude 116°30 and return by the same route; thence along the coast south and west to about 112°30, where he went inland a short distance. Near there he also went up the Katingan River to about one degree and twenty seconds south of the Equator. In all these travels he pursued his usual method of quiet study of the natives and their surroundings, giving many details in these almost encyclopedic volumes. This does not always conduce to a fluent narrative, but in this sort of work fluency is not necessary. There have been explorers who were so fluent they were nothing else.

While circumstances prevented the making of a complete study of any particular tribe, such as his work on the Huichol and Tarahumari Indians of Mexico, for example, the author has presented so many facts about many tribes that doubtless this general information is more desirable just now than would be a careful monograph of any single tribe. He took measurements of 227 Penihings, and he everywhere collected vocabularies and many excellent photographs. Over a hundred photographs in half-tone are given. In numerous cases both front and side views and sometimes back also of individuals are carefully presented. Some exact drawings of Dayak tattooing are also shown. "Dayak" does not mean any special tribe, but is a word that has come to designate in a general way all the tribes of Borneo that are not Malay, just as in this country we speak of "Indians" without discriminating.

Like most primitive (and many civilized) peoples all these natives of Borneo adorn their ears, the women wearing large tin or brass rings in the vastly distended ear lobes, and the men sporting tiger's teeth. The hole for the teeth is made with a small-caliber cartridge-shell used as a punch. Being driven through, it cuts out a circular piece and thus makes room for the tooth. On one occasion which the author describes, "it took four men's attention to pierce in this way the ears of a Saputan chief."

The natives secure fish in large numbers by poisoning the rivers with a drug extracted from the bark of a plant called *tuba*. "The bark is beaten off with sticks to the accompaniment of head-hunting songs," and other rites are performed. Before throwing the root-fiber into the water a fire is made in the old, primitive, friction way by rapidly pulling a piece of rattan around a bamboo stick held to the ground.

Not being himself able to visit the remarkable caves of Kong Beng—the Mountain of Images—he quotes a description by an American traveler, A. M. Erskine, of which this sentence gives the impression: "The beautifully carved Hindu idols are arranged in a half circle, the light coming down a hundred feet

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upon them from an opening in the dome, and the picture is the most majestic and strangely beautiful sight I have ever seen."

Borneo has many natural riches, vegetable and mineral, but their development has hardly begun. Diamonds, gold, coal, iron, tin, antimony exist, and much else. There are elephants, rhinos, monkeys, wild boars, deer, orang-utan, squirrels; and snakes which attain a length of from twenty to twenty-five feet. There is said to be a giant pig, as large as a Jersey cow. One skull of this pig only is known, which is in the Berlin Museum. Mr. Lumholtz failed to find the pig in being. Among the specimens collected were many *kapatongs*, or images of wood, of various sizes which serve many purposes. They are usually desired for protection against evil spirits, but some are used as scarecrows for growing crops. They are very important aids on head-hunting expeditions.

Mr. Lumholtz, from his very long and intimate acquaintance with primitive races, agrees, it is interesting to note, with Alfred Russel Wallace, that the better examples of savages are much superior to the lower examples of civilized peoples. "Many of the Mahakam are like Greek statues, and they move with a wonderful inborn grace. When with them one becomes perfectly familiar with nudity and there is no demoralizing effect. Paradoxical as it may sound, the assertion is nevertheless true that nothing is as chaste as nudity. . . . It is an undeniable fact that white men and women compare unfavorably with native races as regards healthful appearance, dignity, and grace of bearing. . . . Coming back to civilization with fresh impressions of the people of nature, not a few of the so-called superior race appear as caricatures, in elaborate and complicated clothing, with scant attention to poise and graceful carriage."

FREDERICK S. DELLENBAUGH

Percival's Diary

Diary of Viscount Percival Afterwards First Earl of Egmont. Edited by R. A. Roberts. London: H. M. Stationery Office.

IN an article entitled The Early History of Georgia, which appeared in *The Nation* of January 28, 1915, the Diary of Viscount Percival was used for the first time by the present reviewer to fill in the missing period of the beginning of that colony as recorded in the "Transactions of the Trustees of Georgia." This Diary is now being printed in full by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The first volume covers the period from 1730 to 1733; two more volumes will be necessary to complete the work. The whole is reproduced from the manuscripts without omissions.

The unusual worth of this Diary to American readers consists in the detailed account which it contains of the early history of Georgia. James Edward Oglethorpe, as Percival writes, "gave the first hint to the project," and was later its chief representative in America. Sir John Percival, however, was the first president of the Georgian Trustees and became the colony's foremost patron in England. The records of the early Transactions of the Georgian Trustees have been lost, and thus also the details they contained of the founding. But we discover from this Diary that after every meeting of the Georgian Trustees Sir John Percival was accustomed to write down everything which had been done in their councils. Inasmuch as the Transactions written in the later years of the Diary overlap those which have been preserved and printed, and prove to be entirely similar to them, we can fairly conclude that the present work contains an exact copy of the early minutes of the meetings. In this first volume we have, therefore, a new and authentic record of the inception of the Georgian colony; and the later volumes will bring this history down to 1740.

The Diary is also valuable as a precursor of Hansard, since it contains a full report of the proceedings and debates for this period of the House of Commons. According to the editor there are one-and-thirty occasions in which debates are more or less fully reported of which Cobbett's "Parliamentary History" is altogether silent. Of the third and fourth sessions of the first Parliament of George II, we have here almost a continuous record. Walpole's excise scheme, the proposed fortification of Dunkirk, and loans to foreign princes were among the important matters with which this Parliament dealt. The Diary also contains the debates upon whether papers called for should be produced in original or in copies only, and thus increases our knowledge of parliamentary procedure. As Percival possessed a most retentive memory, these affairs are all reported in the Diary with great fulness and exactness.

What Percival writes in his Diary regarding conversations in the coffee houses of this period will prove, moreover, of special interest to men of letters. "I spend," he says, "every day two hours in the evening at the Coffee House with pleasure and improvement, especially in such places as the Bath and Tunbridge. . . . The ease with which gentlemen converse, and the variety of their respective knowledge and experience, is equally pleasing and instructive. The set I met with since this last arrival in Bath were the Speaker of the House of Commons, Dr. Gilbert, Dean of Exeter, Mr. Glanvil, M. P., and Mr. John Temple." Bedford Arms in Convent Garden, Mainwaring Coffee House in Fleet Street, and the Kings Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard are places at which Percival dined in London. Not only the subjects of discussion but also the utterances of the speakers are written down. From their remarks information may be gleaned about such authors as Newton, Berkeley, and Addison. Of the latter Percival writes: "The generality of our company determined Addison to be no poet; but Dean Gilbert excepted the poem called The Campaign. He was so shy that if one stranger chanced to be in company, he never opened his mouth, though the glass went cheerfully round, nor did show himself even to his friends till past midnight, and rather towards morning, and then being warmed with liquor and freedom of select friends he was the most entertaining man in the world." Good stories, wit, and an occasional spice of scandal about the Court enliven these coffee house conversations.

BENJAMIN RAND.

Swinnerton

Coquette. By Frank Swinnerton. George H. Doran Company.

THE fascination of Frank Swinnerton centers in his method. A good deal has been written around that point; it has never been hit. The contemporary British novel is prevalently discursive, personal, almost didactic. The numerous varieties of the Wellsian form are much nearer to Thackeray than to George Moore. Substance continues naturalistic, but the shape invented by the masters has been broken. A keen sense of the multiformity of civilization has rushed in upon the artist; he tries to render the movement of masses and the temper of countries and periods. Evelyn Innes was concerned with purely personal things—art, love, religion. But even into Miriam Henderson's consciousness floats the march of events and the humor of national contrasts. Frank Swinnerton returns to the naturalistic form at its tightest. His stories are episodes. He has no time for biographies. He puts his subjects under a microscope, as the Goncourts did; he exhausts them. He is like the Goncourts' Charles Demailly who "desired to direct public attention not to the tragedy of events and the shock of circumstances, the material terror or emotion of actions, but to the development and psychological drama of the emotions and of moral catastrophes."

The inner method of this type of novel may almost be summed up in one word—isolation. A hundred contacts and activities necessary to the most restricted lives are eliminated. Yet this elimination has a final truth. Our intense preoccupations cause the accidents of existence to glide past the periphery of consciousness. They do not enter; they barely touch. Thus the naturalistic novel of the central tradition, to which Mr. Swin-

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nerton has returned, is commonly a brooding study of one human being during a definite period of passionate isolation from the indifferent doings of the world.

The coquette of Mr. Swinnerton's significantly brief title is Sally Minto, a little cockney with a steely soul. Where others who are "soppy" drift, she plans and determines. She knows that she is plain. She knows, too, that her advancement must come through men. So she accentuates certain qualities of her person and builds up a personal style to set them off and becomes vivid and arresting. She is almost a child and she has her lapses. But spurring her on is, always in the background, the picture of her mother, a feebly querulous charwoman, strong in nothing but respectability, long the slave of a drunken husband, a wreck and an object of derision. Poor Sally's misfortune is that the two men who successively come her way are so pitifully inadequate both in themselves and as tools of her ambition. Toby, seen always obscurely and in actual physical darkness, is mere male strength; the sickly Gaga who was to lead Sally to triumph becomes almost at once a mere obstacle. Yet Sally's story, though it ends in blood, ends well enough for herself. She, we know, will pick herself up. Toby is eliminated by his own murderous act. Gaga's fortune is sure to be hers. One can imagine a Balzacian progress for Sally. But that is a story which Mr. Swinnerton's chosen form does not fit. Sally is powerfully conceived and closely studied. "She did not imagine what Toby might feel—only what he might do. She was thus the complete egoist." Those are extraordinarily pregnant sentences and give us the guiding motive of the coquette's career. Her specific acts and gestures are not always of a piece. "We may not be princesses, but we do see life." That is too fine and too well modulated for Sally who was, despite her cleverness and energy, crude, blundering, illiterate. She was subtle; she was insinuating; she could not have been poetically and wildly gay. She is hard and prosaic, and even the faltering of her determinations due to her youth and its moments of helplessness lack any touch of pathos. But her portrait in black and white—one carries away no hint of color from the book—is firm, strong, memorable.

One thing that the great naturalists in whose tradition Mr. Swinnerton works had, he has not—a style of which the beauty and precision gave grim and gray and narrow subjects a relation to larger things. His prose is well enough. But it is pedestrian without being austere. The impersonality of his method has no compensation in a personal mode of speech. His ear betrays him and he writes:

> She ate her lunch at twelve o'clock
> And had her tea at four.

We can imagine his books reaching the plane of Flaubert and George Moore if they were composed as magnificently as they are conceived. Despite this defect he is one of the most interesting of contemporary writers and one of the most satisfactory to the mind.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Books in Brief

IN "Wordsworth's French Daughter" (Princeton University Press) George McLean Harper furnishes documents which authenticate the gossip long current about Wordsworth and his optimistic period in France. At Orleans, it seems, he had a love affair with Marie-Anne Vallon, and it made him in December, 1792, the father of a daughter, Anne Caroline, whom he acknowledged in the birth certificate which Mr. Harper has unearthed among the Archives communales of Orleans. Ten years later Wordsworth went on an agitated visit to France, saw the lady and his child, and returned to marry Mary Hutchinson within two months. In 1814, "at the risk of losing a reputation for peculiar correctness of conduct," the poet gave acknowledgment and consent to the marriage of "Anne Caroline Wordsworth" at Paris to Jean Baptiste Martin Baudouin—the license for which Mr. Harper reproduces in his little book. As the Vallon family—including Marie-Anne—turns out to have been intensely Royalist and clerical it is no longer possible to explain Anne Caroline as the consequence of an iconoclastic mood on the part of two young revolutionists who doubted whether marriage could survive the Revolution; nor does Mr. Harper attempt any adequate explanation of Wordsworth's behavior in the case. That, perhaps, no one now can furnish, but it is fair to expect that M. Legouis in the revised edition, shortly forthcoming, of "La Jeunesse de Wordsworth" will as the result of this new material have new light to throw upon Wordsworth's development. What would Byron not have said had he known of the skeleton in that so respectable closet!

The Nation *will shortly publish two articles by Thomas Walsh on The Progress of Poetry: Spanish, dealing with Central and South American as well as Peninsular poets.*

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International Relations Section

Proposed Russian-Irish Treaty

A DOCUMENT captured in Dublin bearing the official stamp of Dail Eireann and addressed to D. Fitzgerald, Minister of Propaganda of the Irish Republic, has disclosed the terms of a draft treaty between Ireland and Soviet Russia. The document in its several parts, together with the letter of transmission, was published by the British Government in the form of a White Paper from which the following text is taken. It is worth noting the fact that the treaty was drafted prior to June 15, 1920, and that it has not since, as far as is known, been ratified.

At the time of its publication its importance was discounted by Irish leaders who pointed to Mr. De Valera's doubt of the credentials of Soviet representatives in the United States and to the delay in ratification as evidences that Ireland was unwilling to be hurried into an agreement.

Letter to Mr. D. Fitzgerald

Dublin, June 15, 1920.

A Chara [My dear Friend],

I inclose copy of the draft of the proposed treaty between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the Republic of Ireland, together with copies of observations thereon by the President and Dr. McCartan.

Mise le meas [I am with respect],

Diarmuid O. L. Eigceertiugh
[Dermot O'Hegarty].
[One of the Secretaries to Dail Eireann.]

Memorandum by the President [Mr. De Valera] on Russia

A message from Dr. McCartan re the R. [Russian] Mission, with a proposal which should be very carefully considered by the Cabinet, first as to its advisability at all, and secondly, if advisable, what terms should be included so as to give us the greatest advantage. The commercial terms, if they could be secured, despite the efforts of the British to render them nugatory, would be designed so as to use them as a lever to bring portions of the North—"Ulster"—to the side of the Republic. The church mandate would also be useful and the idea of grouping a league of nations round R. is capable of a good deal of development. Also the importance of having a center for our eastern activities must be borne in mind.

I have not finally made up my own mind on the question of a published agreement, but I certainly am of opinion that the mission should go and that the whole question be taken up very seriously. When those who have it in hand have the proposed terms properly hammered out I will give my own decision and send forward such recommendations as seem advisable to me. The document which the doctor is sending and these comments of mine are merely preliminaries which will enable you to think over and discuss the matter in anticipation.

Besides the doctor you should arrange to have a strong labor man, for example, Johnson or O'Brien, with somebody whose tendencies are not so socialistic and who knows industrial conditions. Were Fawsitt available he would be the man that would occur to my mind. He suggests L. de Roiste. I wonder have we anybody who knows Russia?

The men at this side (i. e., the United States) representing R. may not have credentials at all entitling them to speak for their Government. This is a point which must not be forgotten. They may be simply self-appointed.

I fear you will find this dispatch rather scrappy. It is written as I am rushing for a train with a number of people coming in and out. Remember it is only anticipatory.

Draft of Proposed Treaty Between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the Republic of Ireland

Desirous of promoting peaceful and friendly relations between all nations of the world, and especially between the people of Russia and the people of Ireland, and striving to cooperate in the interest of the advancement of the human race and for the liberation of all people from imperialistic exploitation and oppression, the Governments of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and of the Republic of Ireland, by authority conferred upon them by their respective constitutions, and in the name of the people of Russia and the people of Ireland, agree as follows:

1. The Government of the Republic of Ireland pledges itself, its resources and its influence, to promote the recognition of the sovereignty of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic by the nations of the world.

2. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic pledges itself, its resources and its influences, to promote the recognition of the sovereignty of the Republic of Ireland by the nations of the world.

3. The Government of the Republic of Ireland pledges itself to exert its influence on all organizations and elements which are responsive to it in order to prevent the transportation of arms, munitions, and military supplies intended for use against the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

4. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic undertakes to exert pressure on any nation, organization, or group of people with whom it has influence to prevent the shipment of arms, munitions, and military supplies intended for use against the Republic of Ireland.

5. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic accords to all religious denominations represented in the Republic of Ireland every right accorded to religious sects by the Russian constitution, and intrusts to the accredited representative of the Republic of Ireland in Russia the interests of the Roman Catholic church within the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

6. In any nation where only one of the contracting parties has diplomatic facilities these facilities will be at the disposal of the other contracting party.

7. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic undertakes to sell whatever commodities are exported from Russia to Ireland, either directly or indirectly, exclusively through the medium of institutions designated by the Government of the Republic of Ireland, and at prices and on terms agreed upon with that Government.

8. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic agrees to place orders for whatever commodities may be bought in Ireland only through the institutions designated by the Government of the Republic of Ireland so far as these privileges are applicable to such institutions.

9. The privileges outlined in the preceding two paragraphs (7 and 8) will extend to extra-territorial institutions controlled by the Government of the Republic of Ireland in so far as these privileges are applicable to such institutions.

10. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic will invite and accept the services of citizens of the Republic of Ireland in the reconstruction of Russian industries and give special consideration to offers of services made through the governmental agencies of the Republic of Ireland, and to persons and concerns recommended by the Government of the Republic of Ireland for the granting of concessions for the exploitation of the natural resources of Russia.

11. The Government of the Republic of Ireland pledges itself to facilitate by all possible means the efforts to bring sanitary and medical relief to the people of Russia.

12. The avowed purpose of the contracting parties being to end imperialistic exploitation, to insure the freedom of the

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world's highways, to bring about universal disarmament, to make obligatory the arbitration of all international disputes, and to secure peace to the peoples of the world, they agree to enter into a league with similarly minded nations, each nation to be represented by delegates freely elected by their nationals.

13. Any disputes regarding the interpretation of any clause of this treaty will be referred to the league so constituted, and a majority vote of the states therein represented will decide the matter at issue.

14. As the warranty of treaties among free peoples rests ultimately upon the good will and good faith of the peoples themselves, the contracting parties hereby pledge themselves each to foster among its respective nationals friendship for and understanding of the other.

15. The duration of this treaty will be ten years. Notice of intent to withdraw can be given only at the end of the ninth year, and, if not then given, the treaty will remain in force for a further period of ten years.

Memorandum by McCartan re Russian Treaty and Mission to Russia

I inclose a draft of proposed treaty with Soviet Russia for your consideration. The President has merely read it, but so far has not had time to study it. We hope to discuss it with J. K., Joe, and F. P. on Monday, and it may, therefore, be altered here and there. Fawsitt and I will discuss the commercial aspects of it to-night with a view of improvement, if he can suggest anything for its improvement in this respect.

The President referred to the wisdom of publicity. I know they want publicity on it, and in principle are opposed to secret treaties. There is no use in sending a Mission if we are afraid to take the consequences. I know from my talks with their representatives here that they would only laugh at us and treat us as well-meaning but cowardly fools if we proposed such a course. It seems to me therefore we have to go the whole way or not start at all. There is no middle course.

As to the personnel of the Mission the understanding at present is that I shall be in charge of the Mission, and that John T. Ryan, of Buffalo, who had to leave this country on account of his activities on our behalf, be another member. The President has suggested other names. Personally I think the Mission should be small in the beginning, and additions made to it in the way of experts as occasion arises. The experts might be only temporary. The experts might not always be Sinn Feiners.

As far as I am personally concerned, I'll go only on condition that I get *plenary powers*, and that I shall have absolute authority no matter who is sent to make final decision in case of disagreement. This may seem at first sight an extraordinary demand, but it is the only satisfactory course. Franklin, when sent from this country to France, had no end of wrangles with his colleagues, and in the end had to take the bull by the horns and act as his own judgment dictated. Casement had not full powers from home with the result that Devoy was constantly undermining him from New York, and left him to an extent powerless and even suspected. It is the same in all such cases, and history is constantly repeating itself. I have not so far discussed this aspect of the question with the President, but will do so as soon as we reach that point.

The Treaty

As I have been working on this for the last few days I shall make a few notes on some of the clauses that may help when you are discussing it there. The notes may suggest improvements as well as explaining all that is implied in it as I read it:

1. The word "resources" in clauses 1 and 2 may mean—and to my mind does mean—that we may have to lend money to their representatives here for credit or gold in Russia, and that later we can under these clauses demand a loan of millions from them. They at present have difficulty in establishing credit here. The term resources was in their original draft, and I did not ask for an interpretation as it seemed to me we had more to gain by it than they had, so I pretended not to notice it. It does not come into operation until the treaty is signed, and perhaps we will be in a better position to judge its merits then. It is the one thing in this clause requiring careful consideration. If I am sent I intend on the strength of it to ask for at least 50,000 rifles, etc., to be run into Ireland. I suggested this to their man here and he agreed that it was a possibility.

2. Under clause 2—"To promote the recognition, etc."—they agree to strive for the recognition of the Republic of Ireland by the states with which they have or will make peace. We will probably get recognition from all or some of the nations at peace with them. They do not for the present hope for much in this respect from Poland.

3-4. Under these clauses we may be able to help them here, and they may be able to help us in England. The treaty itself is bound to affect both of us in this respect on account of the germ noticeable in all labor organizations.

5. Clause 5 gives us a good grip on the Vatican, and makes them less impressionable by British agents. If the British threaten to squeeze in future we can threaten also. It is not necessary to dwell on this. I don't see how it can react against us in the north or elsewhere; but that is the sole danger. The advantages more than counteract the vistas [*sic*].

6. This means that we will have the use of their diplomatic pouch and vice versa.

7. This clause makes it possible to organize a corporation for importing stuff. It should be directly or indirectly governmental, as we can under it control prices and make it a source of revenue. For instance, we could control the flax of the world, or at least get our teeth well into it. Lumber and wheat are the other big things under this clause.

8. Harland and Wolfe could not accept contracts from Russia under this without our permit. There are such contracts to be given out at present, but likely the Belfast firms have a full hand. A letter from our mission on the subject may, however, be good for propaganda after a little while.

9. This may not be of any service to us, but it might be possible to start things here which could be later transferred to Ireland.

10. This is pretty plain, but if I have anything to do with it I shall ask for privileges for soldiers of the Republic of Ireland to study any naval or military courses we may desire.

11. This is entirely theirs, and I'm not so sure what they have in mind. We shall go into it again.

12. This is the germ of a real league of nations. It will appeal to the votaries of a real league here, and will have a good effect on that account.

13. Same as above.

14. In case of a change of Government we want the people of Russia educated about Ireland, and hope that any succeeding Government may adopt a similar attitude to Ireland.

15. This is to prevent any peace with England interfering with relations with Ireland. They would not agree not to make peace with England until England recognized the Republic of Ireland, so that this is the best we could get for our protection.

In addition to this I shall discuss the question of hostages. That is if England murders any of our soldiers in or out of prison they will agree to execute a Britisher as a reprisal. They have them. We may get this, but I'm not sure.

[Sign]

P. S.—In order to get quick action cable to Fawsitt, that is "Cavehill, New York." In case of full acceptance say "Are agreeable to accept agency." In case of reserved acceptance cable "Agency acceptable on conditions forwarded." In case of rejection cable "Agency terms unacceptable." The party to send these cables are the Irish Overseas Shipping and Trading Co., Ltd. In other words, "Outlook." Cables have been coming from them.

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Great Britain Lets Down the Bars

THE judgment of the British Court of Appeals establishing the validity of sales made in England of goods produced by companies expropriated by the Russian Government is printed below. The facts of the case, as reported in the London *Times* for May 13, were as follows:

The plaintiff company was incorporated in Russia in 1899, and it opened a factory and mill at Staraja Russa, in the government of Novgorod, to manufacture veneer or plywood. This wood was marked with the trade-mark or trade-name "Venesta," or "V.L.," which was the property in England of Venesta, Limited, a company which before the war imported into this country large quantities of veneer or plywood under that trade-mark or trade-name. The goods imported were manufactured at the factory or mill of the plaintiff company for Venesta, Limited.

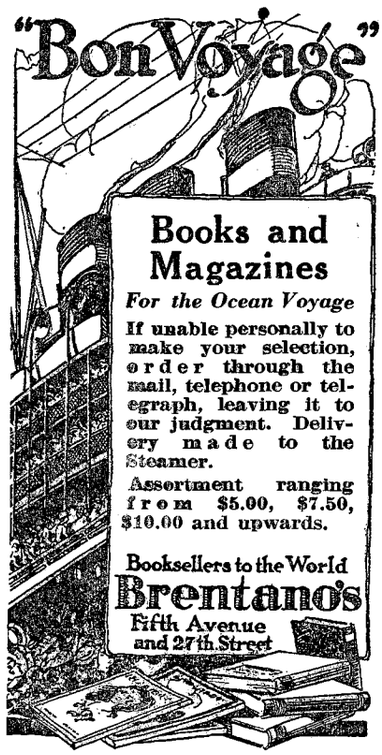
In 1919 the plaintiff company had at Staraja Russa a large stock of boards, marked with this trade-mark, amounting to about 1,500 cubic meters. In January of that year the Russian Government Commissars took possession of the factory at Staraja Russa and took and expropriated the stock of boards without making any payment to the plaintiff company. By a contract made on August 14, 1920, the defendants, in this country, agreed to buy from the Russian Government 1,500 cubic meters of these boards, and it obtained possession of and imported into this country a quantity of the boards. The plaintiff company claimed against the defendants a declaration of the plaintiff company's title to the goods, and damages for conversion and detention.

Mr. Justice Roche found on the facts and correspondence before him that his Majesty's Government had not recognized the Soviet Government as the government of a Russian Federative Republic or of any sovereign state or Power, and he held, therefore, that the court could not recognize it, or hold that it had sovereignty or was able by decree to deprive the plaintiff company of its property in Russia. Accordingly he gave judgment for the plaintiff company. The defendants appealed.

The decision was reported in the London *Times* as follows:

Lord Justice Bankes, after stating the facts, said that on the evidence before Mr. Justice Roche the decision was quite right. As the case was presented in the court below, the appellants relied on certain letters from the Foreign Office as establishing that his Majesty's Government had not recognized the Soviet Government as the *de facto* Government of Russia. The principal letters were referred to by the learned Judge in his judgment. He took the view that the letters relied on did not establish the appellants' contention and with this view he (his Lordship) entirely agreed. In that court, however, the appellants asked leave to adduce further evidence, and, as the respondents raised no objection, the evidence was given. It included two letters from the Foreign Office dated April 20 and 22, 1921, the effect of which was to show that his Majesty's Government recognized the Soviet Government as the *de facto* Government of Russia, that the Provisional Government came into power on March 14, 1917, that it was recognized by his Majesty's Government as the then existing Government of Russia, and that the Constituent Assembly remained in session until December 13, 1917, when it was dispersed by the Soviet authorities.

In these circumstances the whole aspect of the case was changed, and it became necessary to consider two matters, which were not material in the court below. The first was a question of law of considerable importance—namely, what was the effect of the recognition by his Majesty's Government in April, 1921, of the Soviet Government as the *de facto* Government of Russia upon the past acts of that Government, and how far back (if at all) did that recognition extend? The second matter was a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uestion of fact whether sufficient evidence was given to establish the identity of the Soviet Government which was now recognized by his Majesty's Government with the Government which eized and confiscated the appellants' goods. On the construction which he placed upon the communications of the Foreign Office the court must treat the Soviet Government, which the Government of this country had now recognized as the *de facto* Government of Russia, as having begun its existence at a date anterior to any date material to the dispute between the parties to this appeal. As the Government of this country had recognized the Soviet Government as the government really in possession of the powers of sovereignty in Russia, the acts of that government must be treated by the courts of this country with all the respect due to the act of a duly recognized foreign sovereign state.

It became necessary to consider whether the respondents had given sufficient evidence to establish that the confiscation and subsequent sale of their property were the acts of the government which his Majesty's Government had now recognized as the *de facto* Government of Russia. In his Lordship's opinion they had. The decree of confiscation purported to be "a decree of the Council of the Commissars for the People." The contract of sale of the goods to the respondents dated August 14, 1920, purported to be made by L. B. Krassin, on behalf of the Russian Commercial Delegation. The Trade Agreement between this country and Russia of March 16, 1921, was made between his Majesty's Government and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, thereinafter referred to as the Russian Soviet Government, and it was signed by M. Krassin as the representative of that government. From the letter from the Foreign Office of April 22, 1921, it appeared that the Soviet authorities dispersed the then Constituent Assembly on December 13, 1917, from which date he (his Lordship) thought that it must be accepted that the Soviet Government assumed the position of the sovereign government, and purported to act as such. It was established that the decree of confiscation of June, 1918, the seizure of the plaintiffs' goods in January, 1919, and the subsequent sale of them to the defendants in August, 1920, were all acts of the Soviet Government as the *de facto* Government of Russia, and must be accepted by the courts of this country as such.

It was then necessary to deal with the point taken by the respondents that the decree of confiscation of June, 1918, even if it were made by the government which was now recognized by his Majesty's Government as the *de facto* Government of Russia, was, in its nature, so immoral and so contrary to the principles of justice as recognized by this country that the courts of this country ought not to pay any attention to it. That was a bold proposition. The question before the court was not one in which the assistance of the court was asked to enforce the law of some foreign country to which legitimate objection might be taken . . .; the question . . . was as to the title to goods lying in a foreign country which a subject of that country, being the owner of them by the law of that country, had sold under a f.o.b. contract for export to this country. The court was asked to ignore the law of the foreign country under which the vendor acquired his title and to lend its assistance to prevent the purchaser from dealing with the goods. He (his Lordship) did not think that any authority could be produced to support that contention. Lord Justice Warrington and Lord Justice Scrutton delivered judgments to the same effect.

Lord Justice Scrutton, in the course of his judgment, referred to the morality of the confiscation, and said that at present British citizens who might be contributing to the state one half of their income in income-tax and supertax and a large proportion of their capital in death duties with the fear of a capital levy hanging over their heads, could hardly consider a sovereign state immoral which considered that to vest individual property in the state as representing all the citizens was to present a form of proprietary right.

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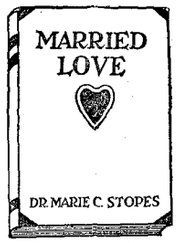

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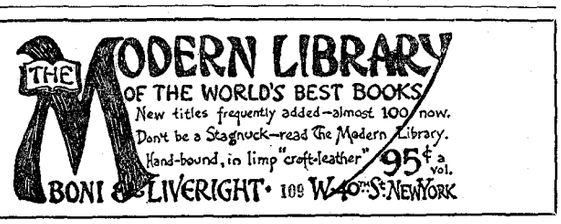
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